10

Iuſtinian the Emperor

defended, againſt

CARDINAL *BARONIVS.*

LONDON
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To the right Worſhipful Sir Iohn Bennet *Knight, and others the Reuerend and very learned Profeſſors of the Ciuill lawes.*

THE honorable reſpect which I haue euer borne to your Profeſſion, and thoſe many bonds of duety and loue wherby I am obliged to many of your Perſons, haue emboldned me to offer this ſhort Treatiſe vnto you, being a *Defence of that moſt renowned Emperor*, whoſe lawes by you profeſſed, together with the auncient and worthy Municipall lawes of this land, like the *two Pillers in the Temple*, doe, vnder our moſt Gracious *Salomon*, with their mutuall ayde and amity ſupport that happy peace, which this moſt floriſhing Church now doth, and I pray God it may euer enioy. I know and gladly acknowledge, that the praiſe of *Iuſtinian* had much better beſeemed, and might with farre more Art and exactnes haue beene ſet forth, by many Students in your owne profeſſion. But this my labour is indeed ſo farre from hindring, that it will much rather excite and whet their induſtry herein. For leauing it to others to write Panegerycks of the life & praiſe of him, whoſe Piety, Prudence, and Variety of all other Vertues and praiſ-worthy actions are ſuch, that they do rightly chaleng the beſt indeuours of both our profeſſions: my purpoſe is, onely to refute thoſe vnciuill, and moſt opprobrious Imputations of *Card. Baronius* againſt him: to the clearing whereof I was not onely led, but euen neceſſarily enforced by that Argument of the *fift Generall Councell*, the full handling wherof I had vndertaken, & with my beſt skill & endeuours haue wholy performed. Of you I now entreat, that as I offer, ſo you wilbe pleaſed to accept This, as a pledg of that moſt louing reſpect, which for your own deſerts I do, and will euer, beare both to your Profeſſion, and Perſons.

Your Worſhips in all dutifull reſpect, and louing affection,

Ri: Crakanthorp.

To the Reader.

IT may seeme strange vnto you, that this imperfect Treatise being but a parcell of a larger discourse, is sent abroad without and before the rest: but when you haue knowne my purpose and desire, you will I hope be equall censurers hereof. When after diuerse yeares study bestowed in this Argument of Councels, I was desirous to make some vse of my labours, my intent was to reduce all those points into foure seuerall bookes. 1. That the right of *Calling* Generall Councells; 2. That the right of highest *Presidencie* in them; 3. That the right of the last and Supreme *Confirmation* of them, is onely *Imperiall*, *not Papall*: 4. That all the *lawfull Generall Councells* which hitherto haue beene held, consent with ours, and oppugne the doctrines of the present Church of Rome. Positions not so difficult in themselues to be proued, as laborious to him, who out of the Synodall Acts and authentick recordes of auncient writers, will search the proofe thereof. The three first of these I haue diuerse yeares since wholy finished. For the fourth, I saw I could not so much as hope in that shortnesse of my time, which remained, to accomplish it: and therefore after the handling of many particulars therein, such as either my owne priuate desire, or some other occasion led mee to examine, I not onely desisted from my intended course, but wholy weaned my selfe from those studies, the end whereof I could not expect euer to attaine. When after some yeares discontinuance thereof, I was by sundry of my learned friends, sollicited yea importuned to communicate to others, at least some one Tract in that Argument, at length I consented to their honest and earnest desire. And there were, among all, fiue or sixe causes, in the discussing of which hauing bestowed more diligence then in the rest, I was equally prepared, equally affected to them all. 1. The *Romane Synod vnder* Siluester, which draweth with it the full examination of the supposed *Persequution*, *Murder*, *Leprosie*,

 and

and *Donation* of *Constantine*. 2. The fall of *Liberius into Heresie*, to which is conioyned the handling of the *Arimine and Syrmian* Councells. 3. *The cause of Images*, handled in three seuerall Councels, at *Constantinople*, at *Nice*, and at *Francksford*. 4. The *Deposition of Pope* Iohn *the* 12. in the Romane Councell vnder *Otho*. 5. The *subiection of the Pope to a General Councell*, defined both at Constance and Basil. 6. The *cause of the Three Chapters*, which for many years troubled the whole Church, and was at length defined in the fift Generall Councell held vnder *Iustinian*. After long suspense I resolued on this last, both for that the Acts thereof are more perfect, then any of the former Councels, (excepting onely that at Chalcedon;) and this aboue them all is most wronged by Card. *Baronius*: as also because for variety of waighty and important matters, this of them all seemed most delightfull vnto mee. Hauing then with far more laborious then fruitfull paines finished the Tract of that whole Councell, and of all the Materiall points occurring therein, it was my purpose (as theirs also to whose most graue and iudicious censure I gladly submitted it) that it should haue vndergone the publike view and iudgment of the Church. But when I came to them, whose art and aid is needfull in such businesse, I found an aversnesse in them: not for the largnesse of the Tract, which at lesse then three didrachmata, might haue returned cum fænore, but for that it wholy consisted of controuersiall matters, which being so often, so exactly, and by so many learned men already discussed, they feared (whereof there is no feare at all) that this age hath taken a satiety in this kind. I rested in that answer: and willing to bury all the rest, I was induced for this one parcell to let it come abroad; partly to answere for mee vnto those who I know expected more, and specially that it might remaine as a testimony of my loue to the Truth, and in defect of better meanes, yet of my welwishing to the Church of God. Concerning which I must entreat, thus much of the beneuo-

beneuolous Reader; because this, being but one Chapter of the intended Treatise, hath both some (though of all the least) dependence, and in many places a reference also to the rest: hee will be pleased to take a short view of the Contents of the whole, both that diuerse circumstances often meeting him herein, may in some sort be opened, and more easily conceiued, and that hereby hee may cleerely discerne why Card. *Baronius* was so eager, after so indigne manner to reuile the renowned Emperor, and to disgrace the Synodall Acts and all that pertaineth to this holy Councell, then which, (as I am verily perswaded) nothing in all Antiquity doth more effectually oppugne, yea ouerthrow, not onely the other nouitious opinions of the present Church of Rome, but euen that of the *Popes Cathedrall Infallibilitie*, which is the Mother error and fundamentall heresie to all the rest.

Cap. 1. That *Iustinian* assembled the fift Generall Councell at Constantinople, to define the doubt of faith which arose about the *Three Chapters*.

2 That the fift Generall Councell, when Pope *Vigilius* wilfuly refused to come vnto it, was held without the Popes presence therein, either by himselfe, or by his Legates.

3 That Pope *Vigilius*, during the time of the fift Councell, published his *Apostolicall Constitution* in defence of the *Three Chapters*.

4 That the holy Generall Councell in their Synodall iudgement, contradicted the Popes *Apostolicall Constitution*, and definitiue sentence in that cause of faith made knowne before vnto them.

5 The first Exception of *Baronius*, pretending that the cause of the *Three Chapters* was no cause of faith, refuted.

6 That the first reason of *Vigilius* touching the *First Chapter*, why *Theodorus* of Mopsuestia ought not to be condemned, *Because none after their death ought Nouiter to be condemned*, concerns the faith, and is hereticall.

7 That the second reason of *Vigilius* touching the *First Chapter*,

ter, why *Theodorus* of Mopsuestia ought not to be condemned, *because hee died in the peace and Communion of the Church*, is erroneous and vntrue.

8 That the third and last reason of *Vigilius*, touching the *First Chapter*, why *Theodorus* of Mopsuestia ought not to be condemned, *because he was not condemned, by former Fathers and Councels*, is erroneous and vntrue.

9 That *Vigilius*, besides diuers personall, held a doctrinall error in faith, in his defence of the *Second Chapter*, which concernes the writings of *Theodorus* against *Cyrill*.

10 That *Vigilius* and *Baronius* erre in diuerse personall points, or matters of fact, concerning the *Third Chapter*, which was the *Epistle of* Ibas *vnto* Maris.

11 That *Vigilius* and *Baronius* in their former reason for defence of the *Epistle of* Ibas, drawne from *the union with* Cyril, *mentioned in the later part of that Epistle*, doe defend all the Heresies of the *Nestorians*.

12 That *Vigilius* and *Baronius* in their latter reason for defence of the *Epistle of Ibas*, taken from the wordes of *Ibas*, wherein hee confesseth *Two natures and One Person to bee in Christ*, do maintaine all the heresies of the Nestorians.

13 Two assertions of *Baronius* about the defenders of the *Three Chapters* refuted: and two other against them confirmed: the one, *That to dissent from the Pope in a cause of faith makes one neither an hereticke nor a Schismaticke*: the other, *That to assent in faith to the Pope or present Church of Rome, makes one both an Hereticke and a Schismaticke*.

14 The second Exception of *Baronius* excusing *Vigilius* from heresie, *For that hee often professeth to hold the Councell of Chalcedon, and the faith thereof*, refuted.

15 The third Exception of *Baronius* in excuse of *Vigilius*, taken from *his confirming of the fift Councell*, answered: And how Pope *Vigilius* three or foure times changed his iudgement in this cause of faith.

16 That

16 That the *Decree* of Pope *Vigilius* for *Taciturnitie touching the Three Chapters*, and the Councell wherein it is supposed to bee made, and all the *Consequents vpon that Decree*, painted out by *Baronius*, are all fictitious & Poeticall.

17 That *Vigilius* neither by his Pontificall *Decree*, nor so much as by a *personall profession*, consented to or confirmed the fift Councell, after the end thereof, or after his supposed exile.

18 The fourth and last Exception of *Baronius*, in defence of *Vigilius*, pretending *That the fift Councell, wherein the Decree of Vigilius was condemned, was neither a generall nor a lawfull Councell, till Vigilius confirmed the same*, refuted.

19 The true notes to know which are *Generall* and *lawfull*, which either are not *General*, or beeing *Generall* are no *lawfull Councels*: And that none of those which the *Romanists* doe reckon after the fixt, are *Generall lawfull Councells*.

20 How *Baronius* reuileth the Emperor *IUSTINIAN*, and a refutation of the same.

21 How *Baronius* reuileth *Theodora the Empresse*, and a refutation of the same.

22. How *Baronius* declaimeth against *the Cause it selfe of the Three Chapters*, and a refutation of the same.

23 How *Baronius* reuileth both *the Imperiall Edict of Iustinian*, *and Theodorus B. of Cesarea*, and a refutation of the same.

24 How *Baronius* carpeth at the *Synodall Acts of this fift Councell, as corrupted*, and a refutation in generall of the same.

25 The 1 *Alteration* of the Synodall Acts pretended by *Baronius*, *For that the Text of the Councell at Chalcedon is changed therein*, refuted.

26 The 2 *Alteration* of the Synodall Acts pretended by *Baronius*, *For that Ibas is said therein to haue denyed the Epistle written to Maris, to be his*, refuted.

27 The 3 *Alteration* of the Synodall Acts pretended by *Baronius*

ronius, For that the Councell of Chalcedon is said therein to condemne the Epistle of Ibas, refuted.

28 The Three first *Defects* in the Synodall Acts pretended by *Baronius, For that the Acts against the Originists, The Edict of Iustinian, And his Epistle touching that cause, are wanting therein*, refuted.

29 The 4 *Defect* in the Synodall Acts pretended by *Baronius, For that the Emperors Epistle to the fift Council is wanting therein*, refuted.

30 The 5 *Defect* in the Synodall Acts pretended by *Baronius, For that the Constitution of Pope Vigilius concerning the Three Chapters is wanting therein*, refuted.

31 The 6 *Defect* in the Synodall Acts pretended by *Baronius, For that the Decree which aduanced Ierusalem to Patriarchall dignity is wanting therein*, refuted.

32 The Two first *Additions* to the Synodall Acts pretended by *Baronius, For that the Epistle of Mennas to Vigilius, And the two lawes of Theodosius, are falsely inserted therein*, refuted.

33 The 3 *Addition* to the Synodall Acts pretended by *Baronius, For that the Epistle of Theodoret written to Nestorius, after the Vnion, is falsly inserted therein*, refuted.

34. The 4 *Addition* to the Synodall Acts pretended by *Baronius, For that the Epistle of Theodoret to Iohn B. of Antioch is falsly inserted therein*, refuted.

35 That *Baronius* himselfe followeth many *Forged writings* in handling this cause of the fift Councell, as particularly *the Excommunication ascribed to Vigilius*, and the *Confession ascribed to Mennas, Theodorus, and others.*

36 That *Baronius* reproueth Pope *Vigilius for his comming to Constantinople*, and a refutation thereof: with a *Description of the life of the same Vigilius.*

I

How Cardinall *Baronius* reuileth *the Emperor* IVSTINIAN, *and a* refutation of the ſame.

1 WE haue hitherto ſeene and fully examined all the materiall exceptions which *Baronius* could deuiſe to excuſe Pope *Vigilius* from hereſie: and in them conſiſts the whole pith, and all the ſinewes of the cauſe: they being the onely arguments which are to be reckoned as the lawfull warriers of the Cardinall. Now followeth that other Troupe wherof I tould you (*a*) before, of his piratical and diſorderly Straglers which the Cardinall hath muſtred together, not that they ſhould diſpute or reaſon in this cauſe, but to raile and reuile at euery thing wherat their Leader is diſpleaſed. And the Cardinall doth this with ſo impotent affections, in ſo immodeſt, that I ſay not ſo ſcurrill a manner, and with ſuch virulencie of all vnciuill, and moſt vndutifull ſpeeches, that you ſhall ſee him now, hauing caſt away all that grauity and modeſty which is fit not onely for a Diuine, a Cardinall, a Diſputer, but for a man of any temper, or ſobriety, to act herein no other part but *Hercules Furens*, or *Aiax maſtigophorus*: without all reſpect, either of authority, or dignity, or innocency, laſhing euery body, and euery thinge that comes in his way, be it friend or foe; ſparing nothing that ſeems to croſſe his fancie, not the Emperour *Iuſtinian*, not the Empreſſe *Theodora*, not *Theodorus* Biſhop of Cæſarea, not the Imperiall edict, not the controuerſie & cauſe it ſelfe of the Three Chapters, not the Acts of the holy Generall Councell, not Pope *Vigilius* himſelfe; nothing can ſcape the whippe of his tongue and pen. Let vs begin with the Emperour, againſt whom *Baronius* declaimeth in this manner.

a *Cap. 5. nu. 1.*

2. *Princes* (b) *to dare to make Laws for Prieſts: who ſhould obey*

b *Videt quanta iactura ... cum principes iudicare audent ipſi ſacerdotibus leges, aequibus iaceitas ſeruari ipſi debent. Bar. anno 553. nu. 217*

obey the lawes made by them. Such (r) an one as Iustinian make lawes of faith? an abcedarie (d) Emperor? an illiterate (e) Theologue: vtterly (f) vnlearned: who (g) knew not how to read: who could (h) neuer read the Title of the Bible: no not the very first (i) elementes: not his Alpha, Beta? He on a sodaine to become a (k) palliated diuine? He to prescribe lawes (l) for the Church as subiect to him? He against (m) all right and equity to presume to make lawes of sacred matters, of Priests? He to set downe punishments for them? He who was not onely thus vtterly vnlearned, but withal an enemy to the Church? a (n) sacrilegious person: a (o) persecutor: a grieuous, (p) a monstrous persecutor: one who was (q) madd, frantickе, and out of his wits, who was possessed with an euill spirit, and driuen by the Diuell himselfe? Such an one (r) make lawes for Bishops? what's this els, but to confound (s) all things? to tread (t) vnder foote the sacred Canons, to abolish vtterly the Church discipline, to (u) dissolue all diuine order, and to make of the Kingdome of heauen (which the Church is) the very prison of hell, where there is nothing but confusion? Thus the Cardinal. And this is but the first pageant of his *Aiax*, and but some gleanings neither of that harueſt which is aboundant in his Annalls.

3. Not to seeke any exact, or methodicall refutation hereof: All that the Cardinall hath hitherto said may be reduced to three notorious slanders, by which he laboureth to blemish the immortall fame and vnspotted honour of that most religious Emperour. The first concernes *His knowledge and learning. Iustinian* not able to read? not know so much as his *Alphabet*? Is there any in the world, thinke you, so

[a] si qui eiusmodi esset, leges sanciret de fide, an 546. nu 43.

[b] Fuit homo penitus illiteratus, adeo vt nec Alphabetum aliquando didicisset: an. 528. nu. 2.

[c] Illiteratus Theologus an. 551. nu. 2.

[d] Cum esset penitus illiteratus. an. 546. nu. 41.

[e] Iustiniani legere nesciuntis. an. 538. nu. 32.

[f] qui nunquam legere sciuerit vel ipsum foris inscriptum titulum Bibliorum. anno 551. nu. 4.

[g] vt qui nec prima elementa calleret, vt legere posset. an. 546. nu. 43.

[h] Fecit analphabetum Imperatorem repente palliatum apparere Theologum an. 551. nu. 4.

[i] Cuiuis sui subdita aggressus erat praescribere leges an. 551. nu. 2.

[k] Sacrarum legum conditorem agit: de Sacerdotibus leges ferre, in eosq; penas statuere, praeter ius fasq; presumens, an. 528 nu. 2.

[l] ab Imperatoris sacrilegi violentia an. 552. nu. 3.

[m] Iusta persequutione cessauit. an. 553. nu. 14.

[n] Et quod monstruosius accessit, ab imperatore persecutio excitata fuit et haud quidem leuis. an 553. nu. 221.

[o] Ab imperatoris furore an. 552. nu 8.

[p] ille furore percitus, mente dimotus, correptus malligno spiritu, agitatus a satana an. 551. nu. 2.

[q] A quo accepturi essent leges Episcopi. an. 551. nu. 4.

[r] Confundi omnia necesse est. an. 553. nu. 237.

[s] Canones ipse conculcas, penitusq; pessum dat ecclesiasticam oeconomiam. an. 541. nu. 16.

[t] Sicq; omnem in ecclesia disturbaret ordinem, sacerdotiq; ex regno coelorum ergastulum inferorum. an. 551. nu. 4.

very

very stupid as to beliene the Cardinall in this so shamlesse, so incredible an vntruth? *Tanti ingenii, tantaque doctrina fuisse constat*, saith *Platina*(x) it's manifest that *Iustinian* was of so great a wit, and so great learning, that it is not to be marueiled if he reduced the lawes, being confused before, into order: *Tritemius* (y) saith of him, *He was a man of an excellent wit, and he is deseruedly* (z) *reckoned among Ecclesiasticall Writers*, and he expresly mentioneth three Bookes which he writ against *Eutiches*, one against the Africane Bishops, adding, that none may doubt but that besides these, he writ many and very excellent Epistles. *Possenino* (a) the Iesuite acknowledgeth him with *Tritemius* for an *Ecclesiasticall Writer*, & besides the reciting of those same bookes which *Tritemius* mentioned, he alleageth these words of their Pontifical most worthy to be obserued for this purpose: *Iustinian the Emperour a religious man sent vnto the Apostolike Sea his profession of faith Scriptam chirographo proprio, written with his owne hand, testifiing his great loue to the Christian Religion.* In regard of which his excellent writings, both Pope *Agatho*, and the whole sixt generall Councell with him, who liued in the next age to *Iustinian*, reckoneth him in the same ranke, not onely of Ecclesiasticall writers, but of venerable Fathers, with Saint *Cyrill*, Saint *Chrysostom* & others, whose writings doe giue testimonie to the truth. *Liberatus* who liued in the dayes of *Iustinian*, and who was no welwiller of the Emperour, yet could not but record, *That he* (b) *writ a booke against the Acephali or Eutichean heretiques, in defense of the Councell of Calcedon, and that* Theodorus *seeing him so toyled in writing against heretiques, told him, Scribendi laborem non eum debere pati*, That he should not trouble himselfe with writing bookes, but maintaine the faith by publishing Edicts. *Procopius*, (c) who was familiarly conuersat with *Iustinian*, recites that trayterous persuasion of *Arsaces* to *Artabanus*, when he excited him to murther the Emperour: This said he *You may doe easily, and without danger, for the Emperour is not mistrustfull, and he passeth the time till very late of*

x *In vit Bonifac.* 2.

y *Lib. de script. Eccles.*

z *Locum inter Ecclesiasticos scriptores merito acquisiuit. Ibid.*

a *Appar. Sac. in verbo* Iustinianus

Can. 6. Act. 4. in Epist. Agath.

b *In Breuia. Ca.* 24.

c *Lib. 3. de bell. Goth.*

the night in talking without any watch or guard, having none but some old and feble Bishops about him, Christianorum scriptis miro studio revoluendis intentus, being marueloussly addicted to read and peruse the writings of Christians. Are these thinke you the actions of an illiterate, of an Abcedarie Emperour? And what speake I of these? The Pandects, the Code, the Authenticks, the Institutions, the whole body of the law proclame the incredible wisdome, and rare knowledge of *Iustinian*. *All people*, saith he, (*d*) *are governed by the lawes*, *Tam a nobis promulgatis quam compositis*, as well published as composed by vs: and though he vsed the learning, helpe, and industry of other worthy men (whose names he hath commended to all posterity, and neuer-dying fame) yet when they offred the bookes vnto him, *Et legimus et recognouimus*, saith he, (*e*) we both read them and examined them, which the glosse explaineth, saying, *Nos ipsi legimus*, We our selues haue read and perused them: So that I cannot sufficiently admire this most shamelesse vntruth of *Baronius*, in reuiling him for an illiterate, and not so much as an Abcedarie scholer, whose wit, learning, and prudence hath bene, and will for euer be a mirror vnto all ages.

d *Iustit. Proem.*

e *ibid.*

4 But *Suidas* (saith the Cardinall [e]) doth affirme [f] the same: calling *Iustinian* ἀγράμματον, and voyd of all learning: For answer wherevnto, first I would gladly know of the Cardinall, how he can assure vs that this is indeed the saying of *Suidas*: specially seeing their own Iesuit *Possevine* tels [g] vs for a certainty that *Plaraque, very many things are falsly inserted into Suidas*: and that, *a Sciolis et Scismaticis*, by some smatterers or Scismaticks: and further that those *Plaraque* are such as are *repugnant to the Euangelicall truth, and Historicall sincerity*. How may we be assured that this concerning *Iustinian* is not one of those *Plaraque*, seeing this to be contrary to Historicall sincerity, doth by those many and euident proofes which wee before produced fully appeare? Againe admitting *Suidas* for the Author thereof: is *Suidas* thinke you of more, or equall authority and credit to their Ponti-

e *Baro. An. 528. nu. 2.*

f *in verbo Iustinian.*

g *In appar. verbo* Suidas

Pontificall? which witnesseth expressly that *Iustinian* writ the holy confession of his faith, *Chirographo proprio* with his owne hand. Equall to *Tritemius* and *Possenius*, or (to wink at them) to Pope *Agatho* and the 6 generall Councell? who all account *Iustinian* among the writers of the Church. Who I pray you was this *Suidas*? truly an earnest defender of those impieties, which in their 2. Nicen Synod began to preuaile: who in reuiling manner doth call [h] *Constantine Iconomachus a Serpent, an Antichrist, and the disciple of the Diuell*: and all, for his not consenting to the *adoration of Images and relikes, and to the inuocation of Saints*. Now how this sort of men were giuen to lyes and fables, the acts of that Synod doth fully demonstrate. Or if you rather desire to haue their Iesuits iudgement of *Suidas*, he will tell you first, that he was heretical, *in teaching* [i] *the Essence in the Godhead to be generative: which their Lateran Council hath condemned for an heresie*. He wil tel you further, that this book is full of errors, fables and lies, of which sort are these among many. *That the World was made of the Poeticall Chaos: that it shall continue* 1200. *thousand yeares: that the Sun and Starres, are fiue substances fed and perpetuated by terrestriall humors as their nutriment: that Paradise is hortus pensilis, a garden hanging in the aire farre above the earth*: that Caine *was begotten of the Diuell, which is a lie: that the Iewes adored an asses head, and euery seauenth yeare sacrificed a stranger: His narration (in verbo Nero)* touching *Annas* and *Caiphas, Pilate, Peter and Simon Magus*, wherein *multa commeniscitur, hee forgeth many things. His narration (in verbo Iulianus)* which hee calleth in expresse words, *mendatium flagitiosissimum*, a most lewd lie. *His slandering Constantine* the great, as base of birth, & his son *Crispus* as incestuous: His commending of *Acatius* and *Acesius* two hereticks: adding that *hee writeth many things contra Historia veritatem, against the Historicall truth*. His relation (*in verbo Apolonius*) where many things are praised *quæ omnia monstruosa sunt, et prorsus explodenda*, all which are vtterly to be hissed at: where also he seemeth to

[h] Suid. in verbo Constantinus.

[i] Poss. in verbo Suidas.

allow

allow the impious Art of Magick, and Diuinations. His approuing of *Appolonius* and *Danis* two wicked Magitians, who both are *relegati ad inferos*, condemned to hell. And to omit very many of this kind of impieties and fables, which abound in *Suidas*, His narration (*in verbo Iesus:*) which not onely *Baronius* reiecteth, but Pope *Paul* the 4. for that cause besides some other [k] exploded the Book of *Suidas*, & placed it in the rank *librorum prohibitorum*. Such, euen by the confession of their owne Iesuit, is this *Suidas*: a deprauer of good, a commender of wicked men, a fabler, a lyer, and falsifier of Histories, a Magitian, an Heretick, whose booke is by the Pope forbidden to be read. Such a worthy witnesse hath the Cardinall of his *Suidas*, with whom hee conspireth in reuiling *Iustinian*, as one vtterly vnlearned. Concerning which vntruth, I will say no more at this time then that which *Gotofrid* doth in his censure [l] of those words of *Suidas*, where calling it in plaine termes a slander, he reiects it, as it iustly deseruetb, in this manner, *Valeant calumniæ, nos sinceriora sequamur*, Away with this and such like opprobrious slanders of *Suidas* and *Baronius*, but let vs follow the truth.

k *Exploserit in Indicem lib. prohib.*

l *ante lib. Institut.*

5 His second reproofe of the Emperor is for *presuming to make laws in causes of faith: which for Kings & Emperors to do, brings* (as he saith) *an hellish confusion into the Church of God.* The wit of a Cardinall! *Iustinian* may not do that which King *Hesechia*, which *Asa*, which *Iosiah*, which *Constantine* the great, the two *Theodosij*, *Martian*, and other holy Emperors before had done, and done it by the warrant of God, to the eternall good of the Church, and their owne immortall fame. Had he indeed or any of those Emperors taken vppon them by their lawes to establish some new, erronious, or hæreticall Doctrine, the Cardinall might in this case haue iustly reproued them: but this they did not: what doctrines the Prophets deliuered, the word of God taught, and holy Synods had before decreed and explained, those and none els did *Iustinian*, by his Edict, and other religious Emperors, ratifie by their imperiall authority. Heare *Iustinian*

nians owne words, f *We haue thought it needfull by this our Edict to manifest that right confession of faith quæ in sancta Dei ecclesia prædicatur*, which is preached in the holy Church of God. Heere is no new faith: no Edict for any new doctrine, but for maintaining that onely faith which the holy Catholick Church taught, and the Councell of Chalcedon had decreed: wherein that *Iustinian* did nothing but worthy of eternall praise, the whole fift Councell, and the whole Catholicke Church approuing it, is a witnesse aboue exception, which entreating of that which *Iustinian* had done in this cause of the Three Chapters: (the cheefe of all which was the publishing of his most religious Edict, to condemne the same) faith, g *Omnia semper fecit et facit, quæ sanctam Ecclesiam et recta dogmata conservant*, *Iustinian* hath euer done and as yet doth all thinges which preserue the holy Church and the true faith. So the Councell. Is not *Baronius* mind composed of venom and malice, who condemnes and reuiles the Emperor, as bringing hellish confusion into the Church, by publishing that law, which to haue beene an especiall meanes to preserue the Church and Catholick faith, the holy Generall Councell and all the whole Catholick Church with it proclaimeth?

f *Edict. Iustin. in cause trium Capitul. in Princip.*

g *Coll. 7. In fine*

6 See heere againe the loue and respect which *Baronius* beares to the Imperial lawes, and to those holy and religious Emperors which were the nursing fathers of Gods Church, and pillers to vphold the faith in their dayes. There are extant in the Theodosian Code many lawes concerning the Catholick faith: concerning *Bishops*, *Churches*, and *the Clergy*: concerning *Heretickes*, *Apostates*, *Munkes*, *Iewes* and *Samaritans*: concerning *Pagan sacrifices*, and *temples*: concerning *Religion*, *Episcopall iudgement*, *those who flee vnto Churches*, and many other of the same kind: lawes wholsom and necessary for those times. The like titles are extant also in the Code of *Iustinian*. In the Authenticks there are I know not how many lawes in the like causes: of *the 4. Counsels*, *of the Order of Patriarches*, *of the building of Churches*:

of goods belonging to sacred places: Of the holy Communion, of Lytanies, of the memorials for the dead, of the priuiledges of Churches, of Patriarches, of the Pope of old Rome, of Archbishops, of Abbots, of Presbiters, of Deacons of Subdeacons, of Monks, of Authorites, of Synods, of deposing Bishops: who fall into heresie, that Patrons who buildad Churches, and their heyres shall nominate the clearks for the same, and in case they name such as are vnmeet, then the Bishop to appoint whom he thinks fit, that Hereticks shall be vncapable of any legacies: and exceeding many the like. Now such a spite hath the Cardinall to the Emperors and these their imperiall lawes, made concerning the affaires of the Church, that like some new *Aristarchus*, with one dash of his pen, he takes vpon him to cashire and vtterly abolish all those lawes, (5 or 6 hundreth, at the least) with such care, piety and prudence, set forth by *Constantine*, *Theodosius*, *Valentinian*, *Gratian*, *Martian*, *Iustinian* and other holy and religious Emperors. And when these are gone, whether the Cardinall ment not after them, to wipe away (which with as good reason, and authority he may) all the other lawes which are in the Digest, Code and Authenticks, that so his maister the Pope might play euen an other Iack Cade, that all law might proceed out of his mouth, let the iudicious consider. This is cleare, that the Cardinals malice is not satisfied with reproofe of the lawes themselues: euen these holy Emperors *Constantine*, *Theodosius* and the rest, are together with *Iustinian* for the making of those lawes, touching Ecclesiasticall affaires and persons, reproued, nay reuiled by *Baronius*, as having beene *presumptuous persons, authors of an hellish confusion in the Church, and for turning heauen into hell. They and such as they make lawes of faith? lawes for Bishops? lawes for the Church?* let them heare as they well deserue, and as the * Cardinall shameth not to vpbraid to *Iustinian*, *Ne vltra crepidam*, Sir Cobler go not beyond your last and latchet. So indignly doth the Cardinal vse those holy and religious Princes, and that euen for their zeale to Gods truth and loue to his Church, for that which with

* An. 550. nu. 14.

with exceeding piety and prudence they performed to their owne immortall honor, and to the peace and tranquility of the whole Church of God.

7 His third calumnie is, that he reuileth *Iustinian for his sacrilegious furie and persecution which he vsed against Pope Vigilius, partly when Vigilius*[h] *was buffeted and beaten at Constantinople before the time of the Councell, and forced to flee to Chalcedon, partly when hee was banished*[i] *after the end of the Councell, for not consenting with the Synod in condemning the Three Chapters.* Alas, how hath heresie and mallice quite blinded the Cardinall, and bereft him of his vnderstanding? *Iustinian* neither before the Councell, nor after it, persecuted *Vigilius. Vigilius* was neither beaten, nor buffeted, nor fled he either to Saint *Peter*, or to S. *Euphemia*, nor was he banished at all: these all are nothing but the Poetical & Chimericall fictions of the Cardinall, no truth, no reality at all in them, as we haue before[k] fully demonstrated. Iudge now I pray you whether any but some *Aiax furiosus*, or who were deprived of his wits, would call the Emperor *madde, frantick, sacrilegious, possessed and guided by the Deuill, for persecuting and banishing him*, who neither was persecuted nor banished, but enioyed the latitude of liberty and all the benefits thereof, euen the Emperors fauour and the comforts accompanying it. But admit *Vigilius* had beene banished, as indeed many other Bishops were, for defending the Three Chapters against the Decree of the holy generall Councell: was *Iustinian* a Persecutor, a monstrous sacrilegious Persecutor, for banishing or punishing condemned hereticks, and Nestorians? such as all the defenders of the Three Chapters to haue been we haue[k] before declared. What a monstrous Persecutor then was holy *Constantine for banishing*[l] *Theognis B. of Nice, & Eusebius B. of Nicomedia, for refusing to consent to the Nicen Synod?* what a Persecutor was *Theodosius* the elder who commanded[m] *all that held the Macedonian heresie to be banished and shut out of their Churches without any hope to recouer the same again?* What a Persecutor was *Theodosius* the yonger

h Ber. an. 551. n. 2. et 552. n. 8.
i Ber. an. 553. nn. 221. et 222. &c.
k Sup. c. 16. et 17.
l ca. 4. 5. & seq Socrat. lib. 1. ca. 10.
m L. 3. de fide Cath. Cod. Theod.

n Leg. vlt. de her. Cod. Theo.

yonger who forbad *all men* (n) *to haue or read the bookes of Nestorius, or to admit the Nestorians into any City, towne, village or house.* What an horrible and monstrous Persecutor was *Martian* who made a law ° that *if any should teach the Eutychean heresie, vltimo supplicio coercebitur, he shall be put to death.* If *Constantine*, *Theodosius* the elder and yonger, and *Martian* be no persecutors notwithstanding this seuerity in exiling, punishing, and putting to death heretiques: what a malitious slanderer is *Baronius* for condemning *Iustinian* as a persecutor? for banishing, imprisoning, or punishing with like seuerity the defenders of the Three Chapters, who were euery way as detestable, as damnable, and as truely conuicted and condemned heretiques by the iudgment of an holie generall Councell, as either the *Arians*, *Macedonians*, *Eutychians*, or old *Nestorians*? Thus to persecute, that is, iustly punish heretiques, is laudable, thus to be persecuted is ignominious. *Non est peccatum malos persequi*, (p) saith S. *Augustine*, To persecute and iustly punish wicked men is no offence; *neither are they iust who are so persecuted, but he who is persecuted for righteousnes sake.* Had *Iustinian* done this to *Vigilius*, he had bene no persecutor: But *Vigilius* who oppugned the truth, and *Baronius* who with such a virulent tongue reiles and railes at the defenders of Gods truth, they, and none but they, are persecutors in this cause. They kill not the Prophets nor Apostles, but they kill and murther, as cruelly as they can, that truth of God which the Prophets and Apostles imbraced, and for defence of which they were ready to be killed. *This spiritualll persecution*, as Saint *Augustine* teacheth, (q) *exceedes the corporall. They* (c) *murther the Prophets who contradict the doctrines of the Prophets. Minus agereris, It were lesse cruelty in you to thrust your swords into the bodies of the Prophets, then with your tongues to murther the doctrine and words of the Prophets.* And a thousand like sayings hath the same *August.* by which it were easie to demonstrate *Baronius* himselfe, and not *Iustinian*, to be the vniust, impious, sacrilegious, and franticke persecutor, if by that which hath

° Extat in Conc. Chalc. Act. 3. pa. 86.

p Lib. cont. Fulgent donat. art. 20.

q Lib. 1. cont. litter. Petil. Ca. 27.

r Aust. lib. 2. cont. lit. Petil. Ca. 14.

hath bene said this were not aboundantly apparant.

8 Now followeth the other Pageant of this *Baronian* Tragedy in declaiming against *Iustinian*. That respects his last yeares, and his death, in which part, as being the last, and therefore likelieſt to leaue the deepeſt impreſſion in the hearts of the readers, becauſe *Baronius* hath couched together the moſt vile accuſations of all the reſt, and the very venome of his poiſonfull affections, and ſplene, againſt the Emperour, I am moſt vnwilling to forſake the religious Emperour in the laſt act of all, but am exceeding deſirous to teſtifie my loue vnto him, both for other cauſes, and for this eſpecially, that he next vnto God was the preſeruer of the Catholique faith, when in this cauſe of the Three Chapters, the Neſtorians, and eſpecially Pope *Vigilius*, laboured by might and maine for euer to aboliſh and extinguiſh the ſame: in regard of which act alone, if there were none elſe, he deſerueth to be eternized in the bleſſed memorie, and by the beſt indeauours of all that loue the Catholique faith. *Baronius* (*s*) entreating of the 37. yeare of *Iuſtinian*, which was about two yeares before his death, tells vs how at that time *Iuſtinian*, *Vnhappy Iuſtinian ran headlong into the hereſie of the Aphthardokits, or Incorruptiſcola: who* (*t*) *denied the body of Chriſt to be ſubiect to paſſions, death, or corruption*: Theſe, as *Liberatus* ſaith (*u*) were alſo called *Phantaſticks*, becauſe vpon their doctrine it followed, that Chriſt had not a true and truely humane, but onely an imaginary and phantaſticall body. Into this phantaſticall hereſie, ſaith *Baronius*, did *Iuſtinian* fall, and run headlong in his laſt age. and for proofe hereof, he alledgeth (*x*) moſt ample witneſſes. *Auth res omnes tam Græci quam Latini*, All Authors both Greeke and Latin, *They all teſtifie that he fell into this hereſie; and they deteſt that impiety in him.* Nor did he onely fall himſelfe into it, but he ſought to drawe all others into the ſame error. *Ita* (*y*) *ebrius factus eſt, vt mente motus*, Iuſtinian *was ſo drunke, that being out of his wits, he writ an Edict* (*z*) *to confirme that hereſie, and bring all the Church to believe the ſame.* When he preuailed not that way, then he began (*a*) to vſe violence

(*s*) *An.* 563 *nu.* 1.
(*t*) *Euagr. lib.* 4. *Ca.* 38.
Leont. lib. de ſect. act. 10. *et Prateoll de Hereſ. hær.* 55.
Dicebant carnē quam ex virgine Sermator aſſumpſit, ante paſſionem incorruptibilem fuiſſe
(*u*) *Liberat Breu. Ca.* 19
(*x*) *An.* 563. *nu.* 8.
(*y*) *Bar. ibed. nu.* 9.
(*z*) *Illud conſtat, Imperatorē hæreſim comprobaſſe eandemq; ſcripto edicto firmaſſe. an* 564. *nu.* 3.
(*a*) *An.* 563. *nu.* 12.

violence, *Exilium omnibus Episcopis contradicentibus comminatur*, he threatned banishment to all the Bishops who contradicted that heresie, *and* (b) *so boyling in rage, raised a persecution, yea, Persecutionem* (c) *haud mediocrem, an heavy and great persecution against Catholique Bishops*, *casting* Eutychius *Bishop of Constantinople into banishment for this cause.* Thus *Baronius*. Who proues this concerning the Edict and persecution partly by the *Surian Eustathius* (d) who writ the life of *Eutichius*, partly out of *Euagrius*, (e) who both mention indeed the banishment of *Eutychius*, and the Edict of *Iustinian*, written for that heresie.

9 This is the summe of that which is obiected: but how *Baronius* doth amplifie, deck, and paint out the same by his Rhetorication, is not vnworthy obseruing. He not onely taxeth this in *Iustinian* as an act of curiositie, (f) temeritie, and arrogancie, for *His intermedling in sacred matters*, and of Foolishnes, for *Partaking* (g) *with the one side in the faction, as he had done with the* Prasini, for which he (h) calleth him *Maximum iurium proculcatorem*, The greatest despiser and trampler of lawes vnder his seete, but he calls him also *Mente motum*, (i) A man out of his wits, *an Heretique*, (l) *another Ægyptian* Pharao (m) *who bent all his power to oppresse the Catholique faith, yea a very Antichrist*, saying thus (n) of him, *Iustinian no otherwise then Antichrist, setting vp his Chaire and Throne in the Temple of God, and extolling himselfe aboue all that is worshiped, maketh sacrilegious laws for establishing Infidelity, and writes Edicts for heresie:* And againe (o) *not any reason, but onely the Emperours authority did erect that heresie*; *Tanquam Idolum in Templo dei*, As an Idoll in the Temple of God. Whereupon the Cardinall (p) in the anguish of his heart, takes vp with sighes and teares the complaint of *Ieremie*. *O heauens be astonished at this, be afraid and vtterlie astonished, the Emperour hath forsaken the fountaine of liuing waters, and he hath digged to himselfe pitts that will hold no water.* After this fit of his weeping ouerpast, he then comes to the most base reuiling and railing against the

b *Vbi elaborattu a se edictum contēti ab orthodoxis percepit, ira exastuans magnam persequutionem cōmouit. ano. 564 nu. 1.*

c *Fid. nu. 3.*

d *Bar. ibid. extant vero apud Sur. die. 6. Apr.*

e *Lib. 4. ca. 38.*

f *An. 563. nu. 1. et. 6.*

g *Prasinis eum stulte studuisse meminimus. an. 563. nu. 2.*

h *an. 558. nu. 13.*

i *an. 563. 9.*

l *an. 565. nu. 1.*

m *an. 564. nu. 21.*

n *an. 563. nu. 6.*

o *an. 564. nu. 1.*

p *an. 563. nu. 6*

the Emperor, calling q him *Monstrum triceps*, that Monster with three heades (like an other *Cerberus*, or Hell-hound) *which* r Ecclesiasticus *speakes of and declares to be so odious and execrable: A poore man proud, a rich man a lyer, and an old man a foole.* Such a monster, saith he, *did Iustinian now appeare (like three-bodied* Gerion, *in the Poets) seeing he ioyned these three detestable faults in himselfe at this time. He was poore, yea most poore, Expers penitus literarum,* Vtterly void of learning, *not able to read his very A b c: and yet he would seeme to be more learned then all Bishops: so he was a poore man proud: He was also a rich man, a lyer, in that he commanded all to embrace heresie, and by his power hindreth them to contradict his Edict: like him of whom it is said, (t) The rich man spake, and all held their peace. Lastly when he refused the counsell of the Elders, Planè senex cognitus est fatuus et insensatus,* He was therein plainely knowne to be an old doting foole, without wit or sense. Thus *Baronius*: concluding that Emperor to be a monster, an hereticke, an hell-hound, a mad man, a lyer, a blockhead, and a very plaine foole; whom all the Christian world hath, and shall for euer, and that most iustly, admire for his piety, prudence and wisdome.

q *Ibid. nu. 7.*

r *Eccl. 25.*

t *Eccl. 13.*

10 *Baronius*, not content with this so vnciuill demeanor, tels vs further what mischiefes ensued vppon these detestable crimes of the Emperor. Those are of two sorts: the former is publique, concerning both the Ecclesiasticall and Ciuil State. For the Church, u *pacem profligat, Iustinian* droue away peace and quiet from it: *he endangered, atque tandem penitus labefactat fidem*, and at last vtterly subuerted and ouerthrew the faith. For the Common wealth, it did x *titubare*, reele and decline into a worse estate, *vnder this heretical Emperor*, whom he y accuseth, *frigescere*, to haue beene cold & carelesse *in the gouernment of the Empire*. The other mischiefe, which is priuate, concernes *Iustinian* himselfe. For the Cardinalls hatred to *Iustinian* is not satiate with the euils of this life, he pursues him *post mortem*, and sitting in the chayre of *Radamanthus*, he approues z and applaudes that most

u *an. 563. nu. 1.*

x *an. 565. nu. 1.*

y *an. 550. nu. 14*

z *Opinari si cui licet, facilius est inuenire qui Euagrij decias condemnationem velit sequi sententiam quam aliorum &c. an. 563. nu. 6.*

[a] lib. 5. ca. 1. most rash and vndiscreet iudgement of *Euagrius*, [a] *ad supplicia apud inferos luenda profectus est*, he is gone to be tormented in hell. Yea the Cardinall proues [b] that he went thither in this manner. *Although it be not in mans power to be present at Gods iudgement, and it bee vtterly vnlawfull to iudge of the dead: yet according to that irrenocable sentence of God, which is pronounced of all the dead,* [*] Their workes follow them, according to this sentence, *eadem ipsa quæ hinc abeuntem sequuta sunt Iustinianum*, those same workes which followed *Iustinian* when hee died, *do as yet crie against him in bookes*: and those are, *inge bellum*, his perpetuall war against the Church, *which he continually nourished (hauing banished peace which he found therein) and when he dyed left it in a flame: his vnmeasurable* [c] *Sacrilegies, laying oftentimes his violent hands vppon holy Bishops the anointed of the Lord: his cruelty against innocent Cittizens: his conetousnes, and the rest*, which I omit. Thus *Baronius*: who plainely telling vs that these so many, so heinous crimes, and crying sinnes, followed *Iustinian* out of this life, (and euery man knowes that these follow no whether but vnto hell) hee most forcibly concludeth, that *Iustinian* out of all doubt was carried hence to be tormented in those hellish flames. Neuer could the Cardinall be at quiet, till besides all those other reuiling and disgracefull ignominies which he hath heaped vppon *Iustinian*, hee had brought him into the pit and torments of hell. And yet not there also will the Cardinall suffer him to be at rest, but like a Fiend or Fury he stil exagitates the Emperor with his virulent tongue and stile, worse then any of all the infernall Ghosts: neither aliue nor dead will the Cardinall cease to torment him.

[b] an. 565. nu. 6.

[*] Apoc. 4.

[c] Sacrilegiorũ immẽsitas. Bar. ibid.

11 Verily I know not where either to begin or make an end in this matter, nor how it is possible for any man with sufficient grauity and seuerity to castigate the Cardinalls insolent, inhumane, vnchristian demeanour against the most renowned and religious Emperor. Did any of those worthy professors of the ciuill lawes, but halfe so much abound with

leasure

leasure as they do with excellency of wit and learning, I doubt not but they would (as I do heartily wish) vndertake so honorable a seruice, not onely to *Iustinian*, but vnto God and his Church, as in a iust volume to vindicate the Emperors honor from these so many, so malicious, so base and immodest calumnies of this *Rhabsecha*. A worke not very laborious, seeing as on the Emperors part there is such abundant store and variety of all vertues and praise-worthy actions to set forth his honor, as no mans stile nor wordes can equall or come neere the same: so on *Baronius* part with whom he is to contend, there are so many shamelesse and detestable vntruths, either deuised or applauded by him, that *Voraginensis* himselfe may seeme inferior to him in this kind; and I much doubt whether so many voluminous bookes, as might equall any two Tomes of his Annalls, could be able to comprehend them all. Meane while that I seeme not to shuffle this burthen from my owne to other mens shoulders, I will, with their good leaue, I hope, adde somwhat out of those bookes which concerne my owne profession, and out of my shallow reading indeauor to free the Emperor from those most dishonorable imputations of the Cardinall.

12 Let vs then begin with that which is the substance & ground of this whole accusation, and that is, *The Emperors supposed falling into heresie, and writing that hereticall Edict*. This if we can proue to be a slander and vntruth, all the rest which the Cardinall builds vppon this, and deriues from it, will of themselues fall to the ground. First then I do constantly auouch that imputation of heresie to be vntrue: *Iustinian* neither held that fantastical heresie of the *Aphthardokites*, nor made any Edict for the defence or propagating thereof, nor did hee banish or persecute any Orthodoxall Bishop for contradicting that heresie: All these are slanderous vntruthes which the Card. hath collected out of others, and malitiously vttered in disgrace of the Emperor. And truely that very contradiction which is not onely in other writers, but in the Card. himselfe, in setting downe this nar-

ration, is no small presumption of the vntruth thereof. *Euagrius* [d] and *Nicephorus* [e] expressly witnes that the Emperors Edict was not at all published. *Theophanes* [f] (as the Card. calls him, or *Paulus Diaconus* as others,) and after him *Sixtus Senensis* [g] expressly witnes the contrary; that his Edict *was diuulged, et vbique transmissum*, and sent to euery place. *Baronius*, not knowing whether was truer, affirmeth them both, though they be expresly contradictorie: first that he did publish the Edict, the Cardinall teacheth (*h*) saying, *Iustinian when he saw his Edict contemni ab orthodoxis, et pro nihilo duci*, to be contemned and set at nought by the Orthodoxall Bishops, *then he raised his persecution*. How could that Edict be contemned, vnles it had beene published and set forth for an Edict? or how could they be banished for gainsaying that Edict, which if it was not published, had not the force of an Edict? Againe that he did not publish it, the Card. (*i*) likewise tells vs, *He writ indeed, Non tamē promulgauit de haresi Edictum*, But he did not publish that Edict. He did publish it: he did not publish it: what truth in those witnesses who thus contradict themselues? If he did publish it, as the Cardinalls *Theophanes*, and *Sixtus Senensis* affirme, then *Euagrius*, and *Nicephorus*, are not herein to be credited. If he did not publish it, how is the Cardinalls *Theophanes*, or *Senensis* herein to be credited? And whether he did publish it, or not publish it, the Card. who teacheth both, is certainly herein not to be credited. This disagreement of the witnesses one with another, and of *Baronius* with his owne selfe, is no good signe of truth in their Narration.

13. But that *Iustinian* neither published, nor writ any such Edict, nor held any such phantastick heresie, a far more faithfull witnesse then any of the former, euen *Victor* B. of Tunen who liued in that same time at Constantinople, and who would haue triumphed to haue had so iust an occasion to reproue and disgrace the Emperor, by whom he was imprisoned and banished, doth make euident. He (*k*) plainly sheweth

[d] *Iustiniani edictum minime diuulgatum est. lib. 4. ca. 40.*
[e] *Scriptum id, editum non est. lib. 17. ca. 30.*
[f] *Hist. miscel. lib. 16. an. 32. Iustin.*
[g] *Iustin. præcepit hoc dogma a sacerdotibus publice doceri, et ab omni plebe recipi. lib. 5. Biblioth. annot. 186*
[h] *an. 564. nu. 1.*
[i] *an. 565. nu. 4.*
[k] *Vict. Tun. in chron.*

sheweth how *Iustinian* continued constant in defence of his owne Edict, for condemning the Three Chapters, and of the Synodall iudgment giuen therein, euen to his death. In his 38 *yeare* (the very next to that wherein *Baronius* fancieth him to haue fallen into heresie) He *sent for fower Africane and two Ægyptian Bishops*, and both personally by himselfe, as also by some others, he laboured to drawe them to the Orthodox faith in condemning with him, and the fift Synod, the Three Chapters: and when he could not preuaile, *Custodiæ mittuntur*, They were put into prison. In the next yeare, he saith, that (*l*) *Iustinian placed Iohn a Condemner of the Three Chapters in the Sea of Constantinople, Eutichius being banished*: and to his very dying day, he kept *Theodorus* Bishop of Cabarsussus in banishment, *because he would not condemne the Three Chapters*. So Orthodoxall was *Iustinian*, and so earnest an oppugner of heresies, of those especially which deny, either the true humanity, or the true God-head of Christ, euen till his very death, by the certaine testimonie of *Victor*, an eager enemy of *Iustinian*. Seing then he continued constant till his death, in condemning the Three Chapters, and maintayning his owne Edict for the condemning of them: and seeing the condemning of them, or the defence of that Edict, is the defence of the true faith, (*m*) and an oppugnation of all heresies, which deny, either the Diuinity or Humanity in Christ, specially of that of the Phantasticks, or Aphthardokites, as the very words (*n*) of his Edict doe declare, it clearely hence followeth from the certaine testimony of *Victor*, that *Iustinian* was so far from embracing, or making Edicts for that heresie, That he constantly oppugned the same, and euen punished all who beleiued or taught, as the Aphthardokites did: for in beleiuing that heresie, they contradicted the Emperors owne Edict, and the holy Councels, both at Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and

l *ar. Iust. 39.*

m *Necessarium putauimus rectæ fidei confessionem quæ in sancta dei ecclesia prædicatur præsenti edicto facere manifestam. Edict. Iust. pa. 492.*

n *Iesus Christus est co-substantialis patri secundum Deitatem, consubstantialis nobis secundum Humanitatem, passibilis carne, impassibilis deitate. ibid. et Vtraque natura in proprietate et ratione naturæ suæ manente, facta est vnitas secundum substantiam. Ibid.*

Chalcedon: all (o) which the Emperor by this Edict, euen vntill his death constantly maintained.

14 Why, but *All writers*, saith *Baronius*, (m) both *Greeke and Latin*, *they all doe testifie that* Iustinian *fell into that heresie*. What heare I? Doe *All*, and *All, both Greeke and Latin*? doe they *All testifie this of* Iustinian? A vast, a shameles, a cardinal, a very Baronian vntruth! Of the Greekes, not *Procopius*, not *Agathias*, not *Photius*, not *Damascen*, though he entreate (n) of this very heresie; not the Cardinalls owne *Suidas*, who quite contrarie to the Card. calls *Iustinian* ὀρθοδοξότατον, *a most Catholique and Orthodoxall Emperor*. Of the *Latins*, not *Victor*, by whom as you haue seen, the cleane contrary is also testified: not *Liberatus*: and both these liued at the same time with *Iustinian*: not *Marcellinus*: not *Bede*: not *Anastasius*, though such was his spleene against *Iustinian*, that he could not haue concealed such a disgracefull crime: not *Aimonius*, of whom I pray you see how well his testimonie accordeth with the Cardinall. *Iustinian*, saith (o) he, *was a man fide Catholicus, pietate insignis, æquitatis cultor egregius*, for his faith, Catholique; for his piety, renowned: a maruelous louer of equitie, and therefore all thinges did cooperate to his good; and he addeth, *that for* 39. *yeares* (which was the whole time of his Empire) *Imperium felici sorte rexit*, He gouerned the Empire in an happy manner. Not the true *Paulus Diaconus*, (p) who vsing the like words, saith, that *Iustinian gouerned the Empire in an happy* (q) *sort, and was a Prince for his faith Catholique, in his actions vpright, in iudgments iust: and therefore all thinges concurred to his good.* Not *Sigebert*, not *Marianus Scotus*: not *Lambertus Scafnaburgensis*: not *Ado Viennensis*, not *Albo Floriacensis*: not *Litprandus*: not *Conrad Abbas Vspergeusis*: not *Albertus Stadensis*: not *Otho Frisingensis*, who calls (r) him *Christianissimum ac piissimum Principē*, a most Christian, & most pious Prince (vnfit epethits for an heretique, or one condemned to the torments of hell) not *Gotofrid Viterbiensis*, (s) who likewise calls him *a most Christian Prince, one who established peace in the Church, which reioyced*

o *Hæc cum vniuersali ecclesia confitentes: eandem confessionem conseruamus, quam.* 218. *Patres in Nicea collecti, tradiderunt: et post illos,* 150. *sancti patres, Constantinopoli explanauerunt: et, qui in Epheso et qui Calcedone conuenerè docuerunt. ibid. pa.* 495.

m *an.* 563 *nu.* 8

n *lib. de Hæres.*

o *de gest. Franc lib.* 2. *ca.* 8.

p *lib.* 1. *de Gest. Longob. ca.* 25.

q *Felici sorte.*

r *lib.* 5. *ca.* 4.

s *chron. in Iustiniano.*

reioyced vnder him to inioy tranquility: not *Wernerus*, whose testimony is worthy obseruing, to see the Cardinals faith and true dealing in this cause. *Iustinian* saith he (*v*) *was in all things most excellent, for in him did concurre three things which make a Prince glorious, to wit: power by which he ouercame his enemies: wisdome, by which he gouerned the world with iust lawes: and a religious minde to Gods worship, by which he glorified God, and beautified the Churches.* So farre is he from teaching him with the Card. to haue bene a Tartarian *Cerberus*, or Three-headed monster, consisting of three detestable vices, that he opposeth thereunto a Trinitie of three most renowned vertues, Fortitude, Iustice, and Piety, of which the Emperour was composed. Not *Nauclerus*, not *Krantzius*, not *Tritemius*, not *Papirius Massonus*, not *Christianus Masseus*, not the *Magnũ Chronicum Belgicum*: not the *Chronicon Reichersspergense*, which (*t*) testifieth *that he did performe many things profitable to the Common wealth, and so ended his life*: Not *Munster*, who (*t*) saith of him, that *He was a iust and vpright man, in finding out matters ingenious, Atq; haresum maximus hostis*, and the greatest enemy of heresies: not *Platina*, who (*u*) saith of *Iustinus*, the next Emperor vnto him, he was *Nulla in re similis Iustiniano*, in nothing like vnto *Iustinian*, *For he was couetous, wicked, rauenous, a contemner both of God and men*: whence it followeth that *Iustinian* was quite contrary, bountifull, iust, religious, an honorer both of God and good men.

v an.504.

t an.564.

t Cosmog. lib.4. in Iustin.

u In vita Ioban. 3.

15 Now whereas all these (& I know not how many more, I thinke an hundred at least, if one were curious in this search) do write of *Iustinian*, and not one of them do mention his fall into that fantastick heresie, nay many of them as you haue seene, do testifie on the contrary, that hee was, and continued a Catholike, a religious, a most pious, a most Christian, a most Orthodoxall Prince, and the greatest oppugner of heresies: what an audacious and shamelesse vntruth was it in the Card. to say, that *All authors, All both Greeke and Latine, do witnesse and detest his impiety and his fall*

into that heresie. Besides these, I must yet adde some other, and those also farre more eminent and ample witnesses, who do more then demonstrate both the honor of *Iustinian*, and those imputations of heresie, and the other disgraces wherwith *Baronius* hath loded him, to be most shamelesse calumnies and slanders.

16 The first of these is Pope *Agatho*, one of their Canonized [x] Saints. He in his [y] Epistle to the Emperor *Constantine Pogonatus* to proue out of the venerable [*] fathers two natures to be in *Christ*, tells vs, that S. *Cyril*, S. *Chrisostome*, *Iohn* Bishop of *Scithopolis*, *Eulogius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, *Ephremius* and *Anastasius* the elder, two most worthy Bishops of *Antioch*, *et pra omnibus, amulator vera et Apostolica fidei, pia memoriæ Iustinianus Augustus*, and aboue all these *Iustinian* the Emperor of holy memory, a zealous defender of the true and Apostolicall faith, teacheth this, *whose integritie of faith did as much exalt the Christian Common wealth, as by the sincerity thereof it was pleasing vnto God: and whose religious memory ab omnibus gentibus veneratione digna censetur*, is esteemed by all nations worthy of veneration, *seeing the integrity of his faith set out by his imperiall Edicts, in toto orbe diffusa laudatur*, is spred abroad & praised in the whole world. Thus S. *Agatho*. Whose wordes may iustly cause all the Cardinalls friendes to blush and be ashamed of his Annalls. S. *Agatho* rankes *Iustinian* among the venerable and holy Fathers of the Church: *Baronius* thrusts him to among heretickes. S. *Agatho* prefers him before S. *Cyril*, S. *Chrisostome*, *Eulogius*, *Iohn* and *Ephremius*, all learned and worthy Bishops: *Baronius* debaseth him below the most rude & illiterate persons, euen below any Abcedary Scholler, & calls him a very block and a foole. S. *Agatho* prefers him to that very *Anastasius* the elder, [*] surnamed *Sinaita*, because he came from the wildernes of *Sinai*, whom for maintaining the faith against this very heresie of the *Aphthardokites*, *Euagrius* [a] and *Baronius* [b] himselfe, calls *turrim munitissimam*, a most strong towre; and yet (as S. *Agatho* witnesseth) a more worthy

[x] *Martyrol. Rom. Ian. 10.*
[y] *Agath. Epist. extat Act 4. Concil. gen. 6.*
[z] *Non desunt autē et aliorum venerabilium patrum probatissima testimonia. &c. Ibid.*

[*] *Nam Anastasius minor Episcopatum adeptus est post mortem Iustiniani vt ex Niceph. Constant. in Chro. liquet.*
[a] *lib. 4 ca. 39.*
[b] *An. 563. 10.*

thy and defensed tower of the faith was our *Iustinian*: *Baronius* [c] makes him and this *Anastasius* to be contradictorie in faith, & *Iustinian* to threaten banishment vnto this *Anastasius* for not consenting to the heresie of the Phantasticks. S. *Agatho* commends him for his integrity and sincerity in maintaining the true and Apostolicall faith: *Baronius* condemnes him for an Antichrist, an execrable and hereticall oppugner, yea persecutor of the Apostolicall faith. S. *Agatho* testifieth that the sincerity of his faith did both please God, and highly exalt the Church and Empire: *Baronius* reuileth him as odious to God, detestable to men, and pernicious yea pestiferous both to Church and Empire. S. *Agatho* witnesseth his memory to be pious, blessed and venerable, and that in all nations: *Baronius* declaimes against him as accursed, and abhominable to all. S. *Agatho* proclaimeth that all nations and the whole world doth consent in the praising of the faith, and veneration of the person of *Iustinian*: *Baronius* tels you, that All Authors, both Greeke and Latine, consent in condemning the faith, and detesting the Heresie of *Iustinian*. *Vtri creditis?* whether do you beleeue *Baronius* malitiously applauding an vntruth which he found in one or two writers of none or little credit, or *Agatho* a Pope, a Saint, with whom consent all nations and the whole world?

[c] *Ibid. nu. 12.*

17 To Pope *Agatho* I adioyne the whole Romane Synod consisting of 125. Bishops, who all together with *Agatho* giue the like honourable testimony of *Iustinian*. They with *Agatho* writ a Synodal letter [d] to the same Emperor *Constantine*, wherein they exhort him to imitate the piety and vertue of *Constantine, of Theodosius, of Martian, and of Iustinian the great, extremis quidem præstantissimi tamen omnium*, the last indeed (of those who had before assembled Generall Councels) but the most excellent of them all, *whose piety and vertue omnia in meliorem statum restauravit*, restored all things into a better order. Thus that whole Synod. Could they more forcibly haue demonstrated *Baronius* to be a slan-

[d] *Extat Act. 4. Cap. 6, pa. 21.*

 derer?

deret? *Baronius* saith that *Justinian* was an hereticke, a persecutor, an Antichrist, one who dissipated the faith, ruinated the Empire, brought an hellish confusion into the Church: for which crimes he placeth him among the damned in hell. Pope *Agatho* with his whole Councell, testifie, that by his piety and vertue, he restored all, both the Church and Empire, into a better order: they honor him (as much, nay more then they doe S. *Constantine*, * or *Theodosius* or *Martian*,) for one of the most renowned vpholders of the faith of *Christ*, for one of them, who at their death did not leaue nor lose but onely exchange their imperiall Crowne, and in steed of their earthly and corruptible, receiued the celestiall & immarcessible Diadem of immortality and eternall glory: among these yea and aboue these Saints and glorified Emperors, as being *most excellent of them all*, is *Justinian* placed and crowned in heauen, by the iudgement of S. *Agatho* and his whole Councell with him.

* *Sanctũ Constantinum, vocat papa Steph. in Epist. ad Basil. Imperat. post 8. Syn.*

18. If yet you require more or more ample witnesses, behold, the sixt generall Councell hath approued both those Epistles of *Agatho*. Of them the whole Synod (*e*) said, *Petrus per Agathonem loquutus est*, Peter spake by the mouth of *Agatho*: and againe, (*f*) *we all consent to the dogmaticall letters of* Agatho, *and to the suggestion of the holy Synod which was vnder him, of* 125. *Bishops*. Of them *Constantine* (*g*) saith in the name of the whole Councell *Omnes consonanter mente et lingua*, we all with one heart and voyce *believe and professe, and admire the tradition of* Agatho, *as the diuine voyce of Saint* Peter. Of them (*i*) *Domitius* B. of Prusias said, *I receiue and imbrace the suggestions of the most blessed* Agatho, *tanquam ex Spiritu Sancto dictatas*, as being inspired by the Holy Ghost *and vttered by the mouth of Saint* Peter, *and written with the fingers of* Agatho. Thus doth the whole generall Councell approue those Epistles of *Agatho*: Which their approbation not onely *Bellarmine*, (*k*) but *Baronius* (*l*) himselfe extendeth to euery part and parcell of those Epistles, saying of them, *In omnibus tum ipse* Constantinus, *tum sancta Synodus suscepit*

* *In Sermon. prosphon. Act. 18. pa. 89.*
f *Ibid. et Act. 15.*
8. 6.
g *Act. 18. pa. 93.*
i *Act. 8 pa. 29.*
k *Bel. lib. 4. de pontif. ca. 11. (Vbi. et, Actis.*
l *an 681. nu. 24.*

susceepit, both *Constantine* and the holy Councell receiued these in All and euery point. And againe (*m*) *Epistola Roma missa in omnibus comprobata dicuntur*, the Epistles of *Agatho* which were sent from Rome are said to be approued in All things set downe therein. Now seeing the whole generall Councell, by *Baronius* owne confession, doth in this sort approue the Epistles of *Agatho*, and therefore those very testimonies concerning *Iustinians* faith, piety, honour and eternall blessednesse in heauen: had not *Baronius* thinke you a face more hard then brasse or adamant, when he reuiled in so immodest manner that Emperour, as an Heretick, a persequutor of the faith, an Antichrist, a drunken, frantick, and sacrilegious foole, a ruinater of the Church, and carelesse gouernor of the Empire, yea as one condemned and now tormented in Hell, and who sealeth it with this saying, That his heresie is testified by *All authors*? whereas those most honorable testimonies of Pope *Agatho* and the Romane Synod with him, (which declare *Iustinian* to haue beene for faith Orthodoxall, for vertue and piety renowned, and held in veneration by all nations, and praised of all the world, and to haue beene equall, nay more excellent then Saint *Constantine*, *Theodosius*, and *Martian*, and therefore to be both in his owne person, and in his memorie blessed) are approued, and that in this very point, as *Baronius* acknowledgeth, by the sixt generall Councell to be as certaine and as true as if Saint *Peter*, or the Holy Ghost, had vttered the same. Said I not truely, that this cause of the Three Chapters had bereft the Cardinal, not onely of truth, but of iudgement, of modesty, of ciuility, yea almost of common sense, so that he cares not what hee sayes, so he speake in defence of those who defend, and in condemnation of those who condemne the Three Chapters, though he knoweth that, which he saith to be testified, to be a calumnie and slaunder, not onely by historians, and priuat writers, but by the Pope, by the Romane Synod, by the Holy Generall Councell, that is by the whole Catholike Church, by all Nations, by the whole

m an. eod. nu. 45.

whole world, by Saint *Peter*, and by the Holy Ghost himselfe.

19. There might be added vnto these diuerse other pregnant testimonies, of Pope *Gregorie* who often calls (*k*) *Iustinian*, a man *Pie memoriæ*, of a pious memory; of the Legates of *Agatho*, who call (*l*) him, *of diuine memory*; of *Peter* B. of Nicomedia and others, who call (*m*) him of *blessed remembrance*: of the Emperor *Constantinus* who calls (*n*) him *diuinæ memoriæ*; of the sixt generall Councell, which not so little as a dozen times I thinke, (*o*) calls him of *pious, or diuine memory, most holy* Iustinian *or the like*; and which to expresse that great honour which they ascribe to the religious Emperor then present before them, (whom they tearme the driuer away of Hereticks,) proclaime him to be *anew* Constantine, *a new* Theodosius, *a new* Martian, *a new* Iustinian, crying out in his honour, in diuerse (*p*) actions, *Nouo* Iustiniano *æternæ memoriæ*, eternall memorie be to you our new *Iustinian*. A miserable praise and wish had this beene, had *Iustinian* beene an Heretick, a Persecutor, an Antichrist, a damned person in Hell: for then the whole generall Councell had not onely dishonored *Constantine* there present, but had wished honour and immortall glory to Hereticks, to Persecutors, to Antichrist, yea to the Diuell himselfe: which kind of praysing and praying, is not very sutable to the piety and faith of that Generall Councell. But the former testimonies are so ample and illustrious, that they seeme to mee to obscure all these and the like, and doe so abundantly conuince *Baronius* to slaunder and calumniate the Emperor, that I will forbeare to presse him with any moe.

k *Lib.2 Ind.11. Epist 10 & lib. 3. Epist.4.*
l *Con.6. Act.4.*
m *Act.11.*
n *Act.18.*
o *Act.14 & 18*
p *Act.8. & 16. & 17. & 18.*

20. Perhaps some good friends of *Baronius* will say in his behalfe, and for his excuse, that hee did not deuise this of himselfe, nor is he the first that accuseth *Iustinian* of this Heresie: hee hath his bookes, and his authors for him. Hee hath so indeed. And so hee hath *Nestorius* and *Theodorus* of *Mopsuestia* for his defending *Nestorianisme*: Hee deuised not that neither of himselfe, hee doth but second others therein,

therein, By this Apology whom may not the Cardinall reuile when hee list? Hee may calumniate *Athanasius for a* (*l*) *murderer*: Celestine, *and* Cyril *for* (*m*) *Apollinarians*: Constantine the great *for a* (*n*) *Persecutor, an Heretick, a murderer, a friend of the Diuell*: Saint *Paul for a* (*o*) *seditious and pestilent fellow, a* (*p*) *madman*: Christ himselfe for a *glutton* (*q*) *and drunkard, a man possessed* (*r*) *by the Diuell, a* (*s*) *blasphemer*. Thus may hee reuile and accuse these and all the best men that haue euer beene in the world, yea euen GOD himselfe, and then salue all with this plaister, why, *Baronius* deuiseth not any one of these imputations, hee can produce his bookes and authors for them all: and those also far better then he doth for this concerning *Iustinian*. In one he hath the whole Councell of Tyre; in another, *Iohn Patriarch* of Antioch, *Theodoret*, and the Councell which they held at Ephesus; in a third, *Lucifer* Bishop of Calarit, a Confessor, one who suffered whippings and tortures at the Councell of Millan, and, after that, exile for the faith: in another, *Tertullus* and *Festus*: in the last, the Iewes, the Scribes, and the high Priest with his Councell: would this excuse either *Baronius*, or any that should vpbraid these crimes vnto *Athanasius*, *Constantine*, *Paul*, or *Christ*, from being Reuilers and Slanderers? Hee who applaudeth and abetteth a Slander, (as doth *Baronius* this of *Iustinian*) hee is as guilty of slander, as if himselfe had deuised it. The law of God doth not onely say, Thou shall not lie or deuise a false tale, but (*t*) *Thou shalt not receiue a false tale, neither shalt thou put thine hand with the wicked* (not be a coadiutor, an accessarie, or an abetter) *to be a false witnesse*. Yea though many report an vntruth yet their multitude cannot excuse thee: *Thou* (*u*) *shalt not follow a Multitude in doing euill: neither shalt thou agree in a controuersie to decline after many and ouerthrow the truth*. And the Apostles rule (*x*) condemnes not onely *those who doe euill themselues, but those also* (and that much more) *who consent vnto, or who fauour those that doe euill*: accordingly whereunto Saint *Ierome* (*y*) saith of wantonnesse, that which is true in all

l Concil. Tyrii apud Athan. Apol. 2.
m Concilia b. Iohannis, Ephesi. sup. ca. 11. nu. 42
n Primò es haereticus, deinde persequutor domesticorum Dei. Conaris Athanasiũ iugulare. Lucif. Calar. lib. 1. Pro Athan. pa. 13 & Ad implendam voluntatem amici tui Diaboli, ait idem Constantino ibid. pa. 12.
o Tertullus Act. 24. 5.
p Festus Act. 26 24.
q Mat. 11. 19.
r Mark 3. 22.
s Mat. 26. 65.
t Exod. 23. 1.
u Ibid. v. 2.
x Rom. 1. 32.
y Lib. 2. adverf. Iouin.

other sinnes, *maiori procacitate defendunt libidinem quam exercent*, it is a greater impudency to defend lust, lying, slandering, or any sinne, then to commit it.

21 But let vs see who those are on whose report the Card. frames this his slanderous Inuectiue against the Emperour. He saith they are *All authors*. But that, as you haue seene, is a vast, and truely *Baronian* vntruth. They are but some: and the Card. nameth three, *Euagrius*, *Eustathius*, *and Nicephorus Callistus*. I will yeeld more vnto him if he please: let him haue 10. or 20. to say what his fore-man doth: yet the law of God is as forcible against them, as if they were but one: *Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do euill.* And alas, what are these, either for number, or (which is more) for grauity & authority, to those which we haue before produced? To say nothing of that cloud of Historians: what are they to S. *Agatho*? to S. *Gregory*? to the Emperor *Constantinus Pogonatus*? to the Romane Synod? to the sixt generall Councell? to all nations? to the whole world? to S. *Peter*? yea to the holy Ghost himselfe? What an army of inuincible, vnresistable Captaines, hath *Iustinian* to fight on his side, against two or three poore, petite and contemptible witnesses, which the Card. hath raked together, not to bee named the same day with the former?

22 Will it please you further to take a view in particular of them? Truely of those whom the Card. would not vouchsafe once to name, I will say nothing: if they were not worthy to be named, nor to haue a whistle, from the Cardinall, I thinke them vnworthy to bee refuted also. This onely I say of them all: they were misleled and deceiued by those whom the Card. mentioneth as his prime and principall witnesses: and those are *Euagrius*, *Eustathius*, and *Nicephorus*. Now for the last of these, *Possewino* shewes him to bee heretical,[a] and in Historicall narrations, erroneous: and the Card.[b] himselfe saith of him *Fatuus indicandus est*, he's but a foole: and his reason is far worse then his censure, because he is not so virulent and spitefull in condemning the Emperor

[a] *Nicephorus Andronicum commendat quod S. Sanctis a solo patre procedere per Synodum a se coactam promulgari curauerit. Poss. in verb.* Nicephorus. *Et Habet tum in dogmatibus, tum in historica veritate quæ digna sunt vt precaueantur. Ibid.*

[b] *an. 563. nu. 8.*

ror *Iustinian*, as the Card. could wish him, and as himselfe is: besides what *Nicephorus* saith, is but borrowed from *Euagrius* (*Possevine*[c] *calls him Asseclam*, a Page or Ape of *Euagrius*) and therefore the answer to *Euagrius* will bee sufficient for him also.

23 His middle witnes is *Eustathius*, the writer of the life of *Eutychius*, which is set forth by *Surius*. Hee at large indeed describeth this matter, both how *Iustinian* [d] *fell into this Heresie of the Aphthardokites, how hee writ an Edict for the same, and read it to* Eutychius *B. of Constantinople, vrging him to approue it: how when hee refused so to do, the Emperor for this cause thrust him from* [f] *his See, and sent him into banishment: where he liued working abundance of miracles, for the space* [g] *of* 12. *yeares, till* Tyberius *the Emperor restored him with great honor.* This is the summe of that narration of *Eustathius*, in which the Card. much pleaseth himselfe, as if all that *Eustathius* saith in this matter, were an vndoubted Oracle, seeing *Eustathius* (as he often boasteth [h]) *was present with Eutychius in all these occurrents, and an eye-witnes of them.*

24 But why did the Card. mention this worthy record out of *Surius*? could hee find this writing of *Eustathius* in no better Author then *Surius*? *Surius*, a man so prostitute in faith, so delighted in lyes, and forgeries of this kind, with which he hath stuffed his *Liues of the Saints*, that at the very first naming of *Surius*, I suspected this *Eustathius* to be but a forged Author and a fabler: the rather because neither *Photius*, nor *Sixtus Senensis*, nor *Possevine*, (who all writ *Bibliothecas*,) nor *Tritemius*, mention any such *Eustathius* to haue writ the life of *Eutychius*. But after I had perused and considered the writing it selfe, I did no longer suspect, but I found (which now I do constantly affirme) that *Surian Eustathius* to be so vile and abiect a fabler, and so full of lyes, that none but such as *Surius* and *Baronius*, men delighted in applauding forgeries and vntruthes, can giue any credit at all to that *Surian Eustathius*. By one or two examples take a coniecture of all the rest.

c *In verbo Euagrius.*

d *Hic (Iustin.) cepit execrabilem opinionem probare, quae Christi corpus incorruptum asserebat. Eust. apud Sur. 6. April.*

f *Persuaserunt Imperatori, vt eum a sede exturbaret, in eâq; alium constitueret, qui opinionibus suis consentiret: quod et factum est. Ibid.*

g *Perduranit exilium Eutychij (vt idem Author affirmat) spacio 12. annorum et amplius. Bar. an. 564. nu. 29.*

h *Haec Eustathius: qui his omnibus praesti aderat. Bar. an. 564. nu. 20. praesent aspexit. nu. 24. et alibi.*

[i] Loc. citat.

25 That *Eustathius* describing the entrance of *Eutychius* to the See of Constantinople, tells (*i*) vs that, *after the fift Generall Councell was summond*, Eutychius *was sent thither by the Bishop of Amasea (who then was sicke) to supply his roome in the Councell. Mennas, then Patriarch of Constantinople exhorted* Eutychius *not to depart from him, and shewing* Eutychius *to the Clergy, said of him by way of Prophesie* (for that Eustathius is full of miracles, prophesies and visions) *vnto them, This Monke shall be my successor; and then sent him to the Emperor. Some few dayes after this,* Mennas *dyed: and whereas many sued for the Bishoprick, the Emperor had a vision, wherein S.* Peter *appeared vnto him, shewing him* Eutychius, *and saying,* Fac vt hic sit Episcopus, *see that this man be the Bishop of Constantinople. The Emperor acquainted the Clergy with his vision, and vppon his oath testified it vnto them, whereuppon they all chose* Eutychius, *and then was hee consecrated.* Thus the *Surian Eustathius*. A narration so sottish and so absurd, that nothing can bee more ridiculous: and so vntrue, that there are not so many wordes as lyes therein. The fift Councell was not summond till the 26. yeare of *Iustinian*: and that before then, it could not bee summoned, *Baronius* euidently sheweth. For the summons to the Councell followed, as he saith,[k] the *restoring of* Vigilius, *and his reconcilement both to the Emperor, to* Mennas, *and to* Theodorus *of Cesarea*: all which hee [l] placeth in the 26. yeare of *Iustinian*. Now it is certaine by that testimony of the Popes Legates which [m] before was handled, and was vttered before the fiift general Councel,[n] and is acknowledged for true by *Baronius*[o], that *Mennas* died in the 21. yeare of *Iustinian*, that is, foure whole yeares at the least, before the Summons of the Councell, or before *Eutychius* came to Constantinople, being sent from the Bishop of Amasea. What a dull and doltish legend now is this of *Eustathius*? to make *Eutychius* come and conuerse with *Mennas*, to be brought by him to the Clergy, to bee designed and prophetically foretold by *Mennas* to be his successor, when *Mennas* was dead foure whole

[k] Sicq; animis iunctis restituto Romano Pontifice in pristinam dignitatem indicta est oecumenica Synodus. an. 553. nu. 14.

[l] an. 553. nu. 19. et 20.

[m] sup. ca. 16. nu. 18.

[n] Act. 3.

[o] an. 680. nu. 46.

whole yeares before hee did any of these thinges? what a prophane fiction is it, to make the Emperor see a vision, and S. *Peter* to command him to take care that *Eutychius* should bee chosen, and the Emperor to attouch all this vppon his oath to bee true? whereas not one sillable thereof is true, or so much as possible; seeing *Eutychius* was actually placed in that See, full foure yeares before this vision, or before S. *Peter* gaue that straite charge vnto *Iustinian*. They who can beleeue these Phantasticall dotages of that *Surian Eustathius*, (and *Baronius* p applaudes this with the other narrations in that *Eustathius*) little maruell, if vppon his report they vpbraid that which is euery way as incredible, that *Iustinian* fell into that heresie of the Phantasticks, and banished *Eutychius* for not consenting to the same.

p *An.* 553. *et an.* 564. *et alibi.*

m *Vt ex Eustathio notat Baron. an.* 564. 29. *et an.* 578. *nu.* 3. 5. 6.

26. Of no more truth is that which the same *Eustathius* sets downe, for the continuance of the banishment of *Eutychius*, which was, *the space of twelue* (m) *whole years, vntill* Tiberius *was* (n) *associated into the Empire by* Iustinus, *and in the same yeare when* Iohn (o) *the successor to* Eutychius *dyed.* For *Theophanes*, as the Card. calls him, as other (though amisse) *Paulus Diaconus*, but the author of the *Miscella Historia*, expressly witnesseth (p) *that Iustinus* (who began his raigne two yeares after the banishment of *Eutychius*) was *crowned by Eutychius*. And *Zonaras* (q) for a certainty relates *how that* (*before Tiberius was associated*) *when Iustinus was sicke, he called, besides others, Eutychius vnto him, and in their presence nominated* Tiberius *to be his partner in the Empire: for Iohn*, saith he, *being dead*, Eutychius *was reduced from banishment, and restored then to his Sea, and that* Tiberius *was crowned by the same* Eutychius. Which euidently demonstrates the vanity of that whole Eustathian Narration, wherein it is said, that after the Empire of *Tiberius begun, the people came to them to entreat the restoring of* Eutychius; that the Emperors vpon their supplication, *sent post haste to Amasea to bring him home out of banishment*; that the *Angell* (r) *of God brought him miraculously thence*: that the people *flocked vnto him in every place*: that they layd

n *Ad Iustinum et Tiberium exclamant, vt sidei cultos* (*Eutychius*) *redderetur: qui id concesserunt. Verba Eustath. Suriaci loc. cit.*

o *Bar. an.* 578. *nu.* 5.

p *Iustinus Imperator coronatus ab Eutychio Patriarcha. l. b.* 16. *Hist. Miscel.*

q *Zonar. to.* 3. *in Iustin.*

r *Vere cognouimus deum misisse Angelum suum et eripuisse eos. etc. Eustat.*

layd *their sicke in the way, that at least the shadow* of this second *Peter* might touch them, *and according to their faith, they were cured*: tha the came like another Messias, *riding on the Coult of an Asse into Constantinople, the people cutting downe boughes, and spreading their garments for him, and so was with admirable ioy received by the Emperors, and the whole City.* Not one word of all which is true, seeing *Eutychius* was long before the time of *Tiberius* restored from banishment, at the least 11. or 12. yeares, euen euer since the crowning of *Iustinus*: who reigned 12 (*s*) yeares alone, before he assumed *Tiberius* into the society of the Empire. This will be further euident by those words of *Nicephorus* Patriarch of Constantinople, on which *Baronius* relieth. *Eutychius* was recalled from banishment, as the Cardinall (*t*) teacheth, and that rightly, in the same yeare wherein *Iohannes Scholasticus* (who was placed in his roome) dyed. *Now Iohn was Bishop*, as *Nicephorus* (*u*) witnesseth, *but two years and seauen months.* Whereupon it certainly followeth, that *Eutychius* was recalled within three yeares after his banishment, that is, in the very first yeare of *Iustinus*, vpon whom he set the Crowne, at the solemnity of his first Coronation; as was shewed out of the *Historia Miscella*: and this was full twelue yeares (*x*) before *Tiberius* was made Emperour. Which demonstrates, not onely the vntruth and manifould lyes of that *Surian Eustathius*, but another hansome tricke of legerdemaine in *Anastasius*, and *Baronius*. For *Anastasius*, seeing belike that it was needfull (for sauing the credit of some such like fabler as this *Eustathius* is) that *Iohn* should be Bishop twelue yeares, he translating (*y*) the Greeke *Nicephorus*, in stead of *two yeares seauen months*, puts in *twelue* (*z*) *yeares and seauen months*, and giues so many vnto *Iohn* before *Eutychius* be restored: and *Baronius* finding this account in the Anastasian translation, followeth it, (*a*) and saith, *Nicephorus ascribes twelue yeares to Iohn*: whereas, not *Nicephorus*, nor his Greeke edition (which hath onely two yeares and seauen months) but the Anastasian falsified and corrupted Latin translation hath the other vntrue and false accompt

(*s*) *Iustinus per se solum ad annos 12. regnauit, et cum Tiberio annos 3. Euagr. Lib. 5. Ca. 23.*

(*t*) *Hoc anno, defuncto Iohanne, reuocatus est Eutychius exul. an. 578. nu. 5.*

(*u*) Ἐτα β. Μονε ζ. *Nicep. in chro.*

(*x*) *Nam Iustinus solus totidem annos regnauit sup.*

(*y*) *Ab Anastasio Bibliothecario huius chronologiæ interprete. et, Chronologia Nicephori conuersa in latinum per Anastasium. Titulo Nicephori in Bibliot. S. Pat. to. 7.*

(*z*) *Iohannes an. 12. mens. 7.*

(*a*) *Iohannes sedit an. 12. mens. 7. vt habet Nicephori Chronicon. Bar. an. 564. nu. 29.*

accoumpt of twelue yeares and seauen months. This, if nothing els, might be sufficient to refute the whole fiction of that *Surian Eustathius*, the vntruthes whereof *Baronius* could not defend, but by applauding the vntrue and falsified writings of his fellow *Bibliothecarius*.

27. Perhaps you will demaund, why then did *Iustinian* banish *Eutychius*, if not for refusing to consent to his opinion, and heresie of the Aphthardokites, as *Eustathius* saith? which doubt seemes the greater, because *Nicephorus* the Patriarch in his Chronologie mentioneth the same cause, saying thus, *Eutychius was cast out of his See by Iustinian, eo quod non reciperet edictum ipsius de corpore Christi experte omnis labefactionis*, because *Eutychius* would not consent to his Edict, that Christs body was incorruptible. See here againe I pray you, and detest for euer the vile and shameles dealing of *Anastasius*. *Nicephorus* saith not so: all that he (c) saith is, that *Eutychius was banished because he would not receiue or consent vnto the Edict of Iustinian*: but that which followeth, his Edict *de corpore Christi incorruptibili*, wherein is contayned the heresie slanderously obiected to *Iustinian*, of that *Nicephorus* hath not one word in his Greeke text: that's wholy patched to him in the Latin translation by the false hand of *Anastasius*, the Arch-corrupter of all writings in his time, as I haue (c) before more at large declared. And yet so are they delighted with lies, & corrupted writings, that this Latin translation, thus vilely falsified by *Anastasius*, is set (d) in their *Bibliotheca Sanctorum patrum*: which much better deserues to be called a Librarie of forged or corrupted Fathers, and writers.

[c] *Niceph. in edit. Graeca.*

[c] *Sup. cap 17.*

[d] *Tom. 7.*

28. But for what other Edict, if not for this of the Aphthardokites, was *Eutychius* banished? For that he was expelled from his See there is no doubt; that being testified not onely by the Surian *Eustathius*, *Zonaras*, *Glicas*, and others, but by *Victor* (e) who then liued, and was at Constantinople, when these things fell out, to whom alone more credit herein is to be giuen, then to fiue hundreth of the

[e] *In Chron.*

Surian

Surian records. Truely whatsoeuer was the cause why hee was banished, certaine it is that this heresie of *Iustinian*, or any Edict made for it, was not the cause thereof. But there are two other matters, the one, or both, of which may very well be thought to haue incensed *Iustinian* against him. The former was this: *Eutychius* pretended a Propheticall skill, whereby hee could foreshew who should succeed in the Empire. And hee began to tamper and practise this Art about *some three yeares before* Iustinian *died*, as that *Eustathius* declareth. *At that time* (*f*) *hee primatly called* Iustinus *vnto him, and told him that he should succeed in the Empire after the death of* Iustinian, *for so* (*g*) said hee *God hath reuealed vnto mee.* The like good Fortune hee foretold to *Tiberius*, (*h*) *that ere long he should haue the Empire alone.* Againe, two yeares before the death of *Tiberius*, hee prophesied of *Mauritius*, *that* (*i*) *hee, and none but hee, should haue the Empire after* Tiberius: *idque iuramento asseruit*, and hee confirmed this by an oath. Now this Art of Diuination, and Mathematicall predictions, especially when they prognosticate of kings their deaths, and successors, was neuer allowable in any wise State, nor acceptable to any prudent Emperor. It betokened no good to *Cæsar* that they foretold (*k*) him of those dismall Ides of March. *Domitian* was foretold (*l*) not onely of the yeare, but of the day, and the very houre, when he should die: and when hee had carefully looked to himselfe on that day, enquiring (*m*) the houre, his owne men of purpose told him the sixt, in stead of the fift: hee then thinking all danger to be past, was by the Conspirators, (who kept a better watch of the time then hee did,) securely murdered. What mischiefe ensued vpon that prediction to *Valens*, that one whose name did begin with *Theod.* should succeed vnto him, *Socrates* (*n*) declareth; Hee thereupon murdered most vniustly all whom hee could finde to be called either *Theodori*, or *Theodoti*, or *Theodosij* or *Theoduli*, or *Theodosioli*, or beginning with those letters. What hurt followed as well in this kingdome, vpon that prophesie that G should succeed

f tribus circiter annis ante imperium Iustini. Eust. apud Sur.

g significauit mihi Deus te post auunculum tuum fore Imperatorem ib.

h Nunc in partem reipub. gubernacula commisit Deus: mox autem et finem concedet. ibid.

i Verè (inquit) non est alius (qui succedet) quam Mauritius. ib.

k Suet. in Iul. Cæs. cap. 81.

l Suet in Domit. cap. 13.

m ibid cap. 16.

n Lib. 4. cap. 25.

ceed vnto *Edward* the forth: as in the next, when it was foretould to the Earle of Athel, that hee should be crowned before hee died, who therevpon neuer ceased to rebell against his Soueraign, till hee was crowned with an hot burning iron, our owne Chronicles doe declare. All kingdoms, all Stories are full of like examples. It was not without cause that in the Code (p) both of *Theodosius* and *Iustinian*, there are so many and so seuere laws against this kinde of Mathematicall diuiners, their Art (q) being called *damnabilis et omnibus interdicta*, a damnable art forbidden to all: the punishment denounced against them, *being* (r) *banishment, yea death, supplicio capitis* (s) *feriatur*, he shalbe put to death who practizeth this Curiosity of diuining. Now *Eutychius* taking vpon him this Art of Diuining, contrary to those seuere and Imperiall Edicts ratified by *Iustinian*, whether for this cause the Emperor, who by the law might haue depriued him of his life, did not chuse rather to depriue him onely of his See, and liberty, I leaue to the iudgement of others.

29 The other cause was a most impious Heresie defended by *Eutychius*, whom they so much honour: which alone being duly considered, ouerthroweth that whole fabulous Legend of *Eustathius*. *Eutychius*, when hee had long continued in the defence of the truth, did afterwards fall both by wordes and writing to maintaine the Heresie of *Origen* and the Originists, denying *Christs* body after the resurrection to haue beene palpable; that is in effect to be no true humaine body; and the very like he taught of the bodies of all other men after the resurrection. This the Surian *Eustathius* quite ouer-passeth in silence: for it was not fit that such a Saint as *Eutychius*, so abundant in miracles, prophesies, and visions, should be thought guilty of so fowle and condemned an heresie. But Pope *Gregory* doth so fully and certainly testifie (t) it, that no doubt can remaine thereof. He tels vs, *how himselfe disputed against Eutychius, defending this heresie: how he vrged those words of our Saniour, palpate et videte; how* Eutychius *answered thereunto, that Christs body was*

p *Tit. de Maleficis Mathematicis et his similibus.*
q *Leg. 2. eod. tit. Cod. Iust.*
r *Non solum vobe Roma sed etiã omnibus ciuitatibus pelli decernimus. l. vlt. Tit. de malef. Cod. Theod.*
s *Leg. 5. tit. de Malef. Cod. Iust. et. leg. 4. Cod. Theod.*
t *Greg. lib. 14. Moral. ca. 29 Eutychius scrip. si quod corpus nostrum in illa resurrectionis gloria erit impalpabile.*

 then

then indeede palpable to confirme the minds of his disciples: but after they were once confirmed, all that was before palpable in Christs body, in subtilitatem est redactum, was turned into an aerlall and vnpalpable subtilty: *How he further strived to proue this by those words of the Apostle, Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdome of heauen: how then (said he) may this be believed, veraciter resurgere carnem*, that true bodies did or shall rise againe? *How he further insisted on those words, that which thou sowest is not the same body which it shall be, prouing thereby that which riseth againe either not to be a body, or not a palpable, that is, no true humaine body. Gregory* also tels vs, that *Eutychius* writ (u) *a booke in defence of this heresie, which both himselfe read, and Tiberius the Emperour after diligent ponderation of the reasons of Gregorie against it, caused it publickly to be burned, as hereticall*: adding, *that Eutichius continued in this heresie almost till the very hower of his death.* Now although *Gregorie* tells not when, or at what time *Eutychius* fell into this heresie, yet it may well be supposed, that as *Iustinian* honored him so long as he persisted in the truth, so when once he gaue himselfe to such dotages of the Originists (which as it seemes he did about the latter end of *Iustinians* Empire, some three yeares before his death) then the Emperor, who till his end was constant in condemning the Three Chapters, as *Victor* sheweth (the condemning of which is as before (x) we declared the condemning of all the heresies of *Origen*, and whatsoeuer contradicts the verity of Christs deity, or humanity) as it is most likely, exiled him for this hereticall opinion. And this is much more probable, seeing *Iustinian* had purposely set forth long before this, a most religious and orthodoxall Edict or Decree, particularly against *Origen*, and the Originists, as *Liberatus* (u) sheweth, and as the Edict it selfe, which is extant (x) doth manifest, condemning them in particular (y) *for denying the verity of Christs, and other humane bodies after the resurrection.* Seeing then *Nicephorus* the Patriarch saith, that *Eutychius* was banished for not consenting to the Emperors Edict, & *Eutychius* by his defending

u *Libellum de Resurrectione scripsit, ostendens quod caro vel impalpabilis, vel ipsa non erit.*

x *Hoc cap. nu. 23.*

u *Cap. 23.*
x *Apud. Bar. an. 538. nu 33. & Bin. tom. 2. pa. 482.*
y (*Quamobrem hos quoq; risu dignum est*) *ei Anath. 5.*

ding of that heresie of the Originists directly oppugned that his Edict; most like it is that (besides his Mathematicall Art, whereby he was lyable both to death and banishment, by the Emperors lawes) this Edict of *Iustinian* against *Origen* should be that which *Nicephorus* the Patriarch ment, and for which *Eutychius* was, and that most iustly, exiled. So not *Iustinian*, but *Eutychius*, was the Heretique: nor was it any hereticall Edict of *Iustinian* (as the *Surian Eustathius*, and after him *Baronius* affirmeth) to which *Eutychius* a Catholique opposed himselfe: but an orthodoxall and Catholique Edict of *Iustinian*, which *Eutychius* then an hereticke and Originist oppugned, for not consenting whereunto he was banished. Thus not onely the Emperor is clearly acquited of that Phantastical heresie, whereof the *Surian Eustathius*, & *Baronius* doe accuse him: but *Eutychius* himselfe, whom they honour for a Saint, a Prophet, and a demie God, is found guilty of that selfe same crime, and of that very heresie of denying the truth of Christs body, which they vniustly and slanderously impute to *Iustinian*. And this I thinke is abundant to satiffie the Cardinalls second witnes, namely that fabulous and legendary *Surian Eustathius*.

30. All the Cardinalls hope, and the whole weight of his accusation relies now on *Euagrius*. He, I confesse, saith well neere as much as *Baronius*, against *Iustinian*, *accusing him of auarice, iniustice, and heresie*. But the credit of *Euagrius*, is not such as can countenance such calumnies. *Euagrius*, in some matters wherein he followeth Authors of better note, is not to be contemned, but in very many he is too credulous, fabulous, and vtterly to be reiected. What credit can you giuevnto his Narration (*a*) of the Monke *Barsanuphius*, whom he reports to haue liued *in his Cell, wherein he had mewed vp himselfe: and for the space of fifty yeares and more, neither to haue bene seene by any, neque quidquam alimenti cepisse*, nor to haue receiued any nourishment, or food? What a worthy S. doth he (*b*) describe *Simeon Mòros*, that is, S. Foole, to haue bene? How doth he commend (*c*) *Synesius*, whom they perswaded

a *Euag. lib. 2. nu. 32.*

b *lib. 1. c. 23.*

c *Lib. 1. c. 15.*

swaded to be baptised, and vndertake the function of a Priest, though he did not consent to the doctrine of the resurrection, *neque ita censere vellet* neither would believe that it was possible. The like might be noted, touching the bloud of *Euphemia*, (*d*) and diuers other Narrations. *Euagrius* is full of such like fables: but omitting the rest, I will propose onely two, which will demonstrate him to haue beene either extreamly negligent in the search, or very malicious in peruerting the truth.

d Lib.2.ca.3.

31 The former concernes *Nestorius* B. of Constantinople, and his successor *Maximianus*. *Euagrius* saith (*e*) that *Maximianus tooke the Bishopprick, after the death of Nestorius*. An vntruth so palpable, that none can thinke *Euagrius* to haue beene ignorant of those manifould and vndoubted recordes which testifie the contrary: For it appeares by the writings of *Nestorius*, set downe also in *Euagrius* (*f*) himselfe, that after his deposition, *he stayed at Ephesus for the space of fower yeares, and then was exiled to Oasis*. Now *Maximianus* was placed in the See of Constantinople, *that very same yeare* wherein the Ephesine Councell was held, and *Nestorius* deposed, *some* 3. *or* 4 *months* (*g*) *after the same deposition*. as *Socrates* and *Liberatus* declare. The next yeare after the Councell, the vnion was made betweene *Iohn* and *Cyrill*: *Iohn* and the rest with him, professing expresly in their letters (*h*) of vnion, *that they acknowledge and receiue Maximianus for Bishop of Constantinople*: A demonstration that *Maximianus* was B. of Constantinople, three whole yeares at least before the death of *Nestorius*. Nay, which argueth *Euagrius* to haue doted in historicall relations, *Maximianus* was dead, and *Proclus* placed in his See, long before the banishment of *Nestorius* to *Oasis*, much more before his death. For *Maximianus* was Bishop but two yeares and fiue months, and he dyed before the Ides of *Aprill*, when *Ariobindus* and *Asper* were Consuls: and before he was buried, was *Proclus* placed in the Sea the same yeare, as *Socrates* witnesseth. Now *Nestorius* liued fower yeares at Ephesus after his deposition, and some

e Lib.1.ca.18.

f *Narrat ipse Nestorius se in eo loco (Ephesi) quadriennij spacio commoratum, et postea relegatum ad Oasim. lib.1. cap.7.*

g Soc.lib.7.ca. 34. & Liber. Breu.ca.7.

h *Epist. Iohannis et Orientalium Cyrillo tom.5. Act.Ephes.ca.5. & ca.17.*

i Lib.7.ca.39.

some while also in banishment at Oasis, as *Euagrius* himselfe affirmeth. So that by *Euagrius* Narration, *Maximianus* was made Bishop of Constantinople, two yeares after his death: and both *Proclus*, and *Maximianus* were Bishops at once of that See. So well doth *Euagrius* relate matters of fact, and such credit is to be giuen vnto him.

32 The other concernes the fable touching the Epistle and Image of Christ sent to *Abgarus*, which *Euagrius*[m] paints out at large and in most liuely colours. *Hee commends the Epistle as a true writing of Christ, and celebrated by the Ancients*: He calls the Image sent to *Abgarus, a most holy image*; He tels you *it was not made by the hand of man, but framed immediately by God*: that *Christ himselfe sent it to Abgarus, when he was desirous to see him*: that by reason of this Image and writing kept at Edessa, it was famously reported and beleeued by all the faithfull, *that the Citty of Edessa should neuer be conquered*: (that Image made it vnconquerable) He adds *the euent did confirme that prediction to be true*. Hee saith that when *Cosroes* beseeged the Citty, and had almost taken it, then the *Edessanes brought forth that diuine Image and laid it in a ditch, to keepe away the engins wherewith* Cosroes *intended to destroy the Citty, and that by this meanes* Cosroes *was faine to returne home not onely without the victory but with great ignominie*: and for confirmation of this he saith, *Procopius hath related this concerning Edessa and the Epistle of Christ*. This is the narration of *Euagrius*, which for the worthines thereof is aproued and applauded by their second Nicen[n] Synod: to which Synod, you need not doubt but *Baronius* subscribeth.

m Lib. 4. ca. 26.

n Act. 5 pa. 374

33 By this now iudge of the fidelity and truth, not onely of *Euagrius*, but of their Nicen Councel and *Baronius*. For in this whole narration there is not a sillable of truth, it is nothing but a very fardle, or dunghill of lyes. First whereas *Euagrius* fathereth this on *Procopius*, that is vtterly vntrue: In *Procopius* there is not any mention either of *Abgarus*, or of *Christs* Epistle, or of that Image made without hands, or of

any prædiction touching the vnconquerable City of Edessa, or that the Edessanes brought forth any such Image in the time of the Seige, or that they laid it in the ditch, or that by the meanes of it *Cosroes* was vanquished. All these are the fictions of *Euagrius*, and those also quite contrary to the true relation of *Procopius*. For he* *ascribes the repulsing of* Cosroes *from the City, to the noble military skill and stratagem of the Romane Captaines:* by reason whereof when *Cosroes* perceiued his attempt to bee in vaine, hee made peace with the Romanes, but yet so, that the Romanes *yeelded to pay vnto him* quinquaginta millia aureorum, *those fifty thousand pieces of gold, which hee at the beginning of the siege demaunded, and for which he offered to desist from warre.*

* Proc. lib. 2. de bel. Pers.

34 Againe, whereas *Euagrius*, to iustifie that lying prædiction, as diuine and propheticall, such as the faithfull then beleeued as a prophesie of God, saith that the Euent did proue it to be true: in that *Euagrius* proues himselfe to bee so extreamly false, that almost nothing in him may bee credited, but certainly not for his authority. For in the first yeare of *Heraclius*, (at which time it is not vnlike but *Euagrius* liued, for hee writ his history but some 16. yeares before) the euent plainely demonstrated the contrary, and this to be no diuine prophesie, but a lying fiction: *Then the Persians came against* Syria, saith the Author * of the *miscella historia, et cepernunt Edessam*, and they won and tooke Capessa and Edessa, and proceeded as farre as Antioch: yea *Cosroes* then so preuailed against Christians, that *Heraclius* ? was faine to *send many legacies to entreat peace, offering to pay what* ¶ *tribute he would impose: but the Persian disdainfully answered, Non parcam vobis donec Crucifixum abnegetis et adoretis Solem.* I will not spare you till you renounce the profession of Christ, and with vs adore the Sun. How did their *Palladium*, that diuine Image, now defend them? or how could that be a diuine prædiction, which for such *Euagrius* commends, and saith, *the Euent proued it to bee true*, when the euent within lesse then 20. yeares after demonstrated it to bee a lye?

* Lib. 18. an. 1. Heracl.

? ibi. an. 3. & an. 4. & an. 8.

¶ Rogauit vt desisteret tributa, et pacta acciperet. ibid.

* Ibid. an. 8. & Zonar. to. 3. in Heracl.

35 But

35 But that which is the principall fault in this narration, is that *Enagrius approues*, *as true and certaine, that Epistle of Christ sent to Abgarus*, which is indeed the ground of the whole fable. Now that Epistle to bee a reprobated and reiected writing, and condemned by the Church, is so cleere, that their owne writers proclaime the same. B. *Canus* [t] among other bookes which the Church (as he saith) reiecteth, recites *Epistolam Iesu ad Abgarum*, and *Historiam Eusebij*. These two by name the Church, saith he, reiecteth: and because some ignorant persons thought that touching *Eusebius* History not to bee the wordes of *Gelasius*, and the Councell, *Canus* refuting those, giues this, as the reason why *Eusebius* is reiected, *because in it is set downe the Epistle of Iesus to Abgarus, quam Gelasius explodit*, which Epistle *Gelasius* doth hisse out of the Church. This Epistle of *Iesus* to *Abgarus*, saith *Sixtus* [u] *Senensis*, Pope *Gelasius inter scripturas Apocriphas reiicit*, doth reiect among other Apocriphall writings. *Coster* their Iesuit saith, Eusebius *relates how* Christ *sent a letter to* Abgarus, *but that letter was neuer pro eiusmodi accepta ab Ecclesia, esteemed for such (that is not for Christs) by the Church*. But the wordes of *Gelasius* and the whole Romane Councell with him, are of all most remarkable. They [x] hauing expressed and named a long Catalogue of such fabulous writings, and particularly this *Epistle of Christ to Abgarus* (which *Enagrius* approueth) set downe this censure of them all: *These, and all like vnto these, wee confesse to bee not onely refused, but also* eliminata, *cast out of the Church by the whole Romane Catholike and Apostolick Church, atque cum suis autheribus, authorumque sequacibus, sub anathematis indissolubili vinculo in aeternum confitemur esse damnata*, and we confesse as well these writings, as the Authors and the followers also of them, to bee eternally condemned vnder the indissoluble bond of an *Anathema*. So *Gelasius* and the whole Romane Councell: whereby it is euident that not onely this Epistle, and the Author of it, but that *the followers of the Author, the approuers of that Epistle*, that is *Enagrius*, and the

[t] Lor. Theol lib. 11. c. 6. (Reiicit.

[u] Bibl. sanc. li. 3

[x] Enchir. Tit. de sac. Scrip. (Palam

[x] Concil. Rom. 1 sub. Gelas.

the whole second Nicen Synod. and *Baronius* himselfe, that these also are anathematized condemned & accursed, by the iudgement of the whole *Romane Catholick Church*, and that also *by an indissoluble bond of an Anathema*. Such an vntrue and fabulous, yea miserable and accursed witnesse hath the Card. chosen of *Euagrius*, by the warrant and authority of whom he might insult vpon and revile the Emperor: but now the Card. hath far more need to excuse *Euagrius* from lyes, then by his lying reports to accuse others, and now he may clearely see that censure of condemnation, which hee with *Euagrius* most rashly and vniustly obiecteth to the Emperor, to fall on *Euagrius*, their second Nicen Fathers, & the Cardinalls own pate; since they all, by approuing that Narration touching *Abgarus*, or beeing *sequaces* of the Author thereof, are pronounced to bee eternally condemned by *the iudgement of the whole Romane Catholick Apostolicall Church*. It's fit such a censure should euer passe on them, who open their mouthes in reuiling manner against religious and holy Emperors, the anointed of the Lord.

36 You do now euidently see not onely *Iustinian* to bee cleared of those odious and indigne imputations of heresie, tyrannie, persecution, and other crimes which the Cardinall in such spitefull manner vpbraideth vnto him, but all those witnesses whom hee hath nominated and produced in this cause, to bee so light, and of so little account, that they are vtterly vnworthy to bee put in the skales or counterpoized with those honorable and innumerable witnesses, which (as wee haue shewed, do with a loud and consenting voyce proclaime, that Faith, Piety, Prudence, Iustice, Clemency, Bounty, and all other Heroicall & Princely vertues, haue shined in *Iustinian*, which haue beautified any of the most renowned and religious Emperors that the Church hath had. Let vs now proceed to those effects which *Baronius* obserueth to haue ensued vpon the heresie of *Iustinian*, and the persecution raised by his maintaining of the same. Now indeed this whole passage might iustly be omitted, for *Subla-*

in causa tollitur effectus, seeing *Iustinian* held no such heresie as hee is slandered withall, there neither was, nor could there bee any effects or consequents of a cause not existent. Yet will I not so slightly reiect the Cardinals calumnie in this point, but fully examine first the publike, and then the priuate mischiefes, which hee without all truth hath fancied, and obiected against the Emperor.

37 The publike was *partly the subuersion and ouerthrow of the faith*, and partly the *decay of the Empire in the time and vnder the gouernment of* Iustinian. *Disertus esse posset*: Hee that would in an elaborate speach refute this calumnie of *Baronius*, might haue an ample scope to display all his Art and skill in this so large an argument. My purpose is onely to point at the seuerall heads, and not expatiate at this time. Truely the Card. could hardly haue deuised any calumnie more easie to bee refuted, or more euidently witnessing his malicious and wilfull oppugning of the truth. I will not insist on those priuate testimonies: of *Procopius*, [a] *Iustinian seemeth to haue bee ne aduanced by God to that Imperiall dignity vt totum Imperium repararet*, that he might repaire and beautifie the whole Empire: Of *Otho*, [b] *Iustinian being a most valiant and most Christian Prince*, *Imperium quasi mortuum resuscitauit*, did raise the Empire as it were from death to life, and exceedingly *repaired the Common-wealth being decayed*: Of *Gotofrid*, [c] *the whole glory of God was repaired by his vertue, and the Church reioyced in the stable peace which vnder him it inioyed*: Of *Wernerus*, [d] *hee was in all thinges most excellent, and by his iust lawes and wisedome he gouerned the world: by his pietie he glorified God*: Of *Asmonius*, [e] *He was a Catholike, a pious, a iust Emperor, therefore all thinges prospered vnder his handes.* I oppose to that Baronian calumnie *the iudgement of Pope Agatho, and of the Romaine Councell with him*, wherein this is expressly witnessed, [f] *His integrity in faith did much please God, and exalt the Christian Common wealth*: and againe, [g] *His vertue and pietie, omnia in meliorem ordinem restauauit*, restored all thinges into a better state and condition: All, both Church and

[a] *li. 2 de edific. Iustin. pa. 433.*

[b] *lib. 5. ca. 4.*

[c] *in Chron. part. 16. in Iustinian.*

[d] *an. 504.*

[e] *de gest. Fr. lib. 2. ca. 8.*

[f] *in Epist. Agath. Act. 4. Conc. 6. pa. 18. a.*

[g] *ibi. in Epist. Synod. pa. 22.*

Common-wealth both the Ciuill and Ecclesiasticall state: he restored All. I oppose the sixt generall Councell, that is the iudgment of the whole Church, in which the *suggestions of Agatho*, euen in that point, according to the Cardinals doctrine, *are approued as vttered by St. Peter, yea by the holy Ghost himselfe.* These pregnant and irrefragable testimonies of so many, so holy, and diuine witnesses, are able, I say not to confute, but vtterly to confound and ouerwhelme *Baronius* with his deformed and decrepit calumnie.

h *Vid. sup. hoc. cap. nu. 18.*

38 If any further please to descend to particulars, whether hee cast his eyes on the Church or Common-wealth, he shal see euery Region, euery Prouince, almost euery City and towne proclaiming the honor of *Iustinian*. Besides his *happy appeasing of those manifold broyles, and suppressing sundry heresies which infested the Church in his dayes*, among which this concerning the Three Chapters was the cheefest, how infinite monuments did hee leaue of his piety and zeale to Gods glory and the good of his Church, in building new, in repayring decayed Churches, reducing both to a most magnificent beauty. The Church of *Christ* called *Sophia*, built by him at Constantinople, was the mirror of all Ages. Of it *Procopius* an eye-witnes testifieth, *that the magnificence thereof amazed those who saw it, but was incredible to those that saw it not. The height* k *of it mounted vp into heauen, the splendor of it was such, as if it receiued not* l *light from the sun, but had it in it selfe. The roofe decke with Gold, the pauement beset* (m) *with Pearles: the siluer of the quire onely, contained foure* n *Myriads that is forty thousand pounds:* in so much that it is said n *to haue excelled the temple of Salomon.* Further in the honor of the blessed Virgin hee builded euery where so many houses, so stately and sumptuous throughout the Romane Empire, *that if you should contemplate but onely one of them, you would thinke* (saith Procopius o) *the whole reuenue that is euen imployed in building that alone.* At *Constantinople* he builded three, one in *Blacernis*, another in *Pege*, a third in *Hario*: besides others builded in honor of *Anna*, of *Zoa*, of *Michael*, of

i *Proc. lib. 1. de edif. Iustin. pa. 423.*
k *assurgit in altitudinem cœli. ibid.*
l *Diceres locum illum non externa sole illuminari. ib.*
m *Pauimentum ex diuersi coloris vnionibus perfectum. Glic. Annal. part. 4.*
n *Myriadas cælati argenti habuisse fertur. Proc. loc. cit.*
o *Hoc ædificio Salomonem ipse superatum. Glic. loc. cit.*
p *Lib. 1.*
q *Ibid.*

Peter

Peter and *Paul*, of *Sergius* and *Bacchus*, *utrumque fulgore lapillorum solem vincit*, either of which by the brightnes of precious stones excelled the Sun: of *Andrew*, *Luke* and *Timothy*, of *Acatius*, of *Mocius*, of *Thyrsis*, of *Theodorus*, of *Tecla*, of *Theodotia*. *Hæc omnia ex fundamentis erexit*, All these hee raised from the very ground and foundation, *and that at Constantinople: the beauty and dignity of which cannot by wordes be expressed, by viewing be perlustrated.* Nor did hee this to one onely City: hee builded like magnificent Churches at *Antioch*, [t] at *Sebastia*, at *Nicopolis*, at *Theodosia*, at *Bisuni*, at *Justinianea* [x] where hee was borne, at *Ephesus*, [y] at *Helena*, at *Nicea*, at *Pyrhia*, at *Ierusalem*, so magnificent, *vt nullum aliud æquiparare possit*, that none other may compare with it: at *Iericho*, at mount *Gerazim*, at mount *Sinai*, at *Theopolis*, at *Ægila* [z] *where they sacrificed to* Iupiter Hammon *and* Alexander *the great*, *even to that time*: at *Berrion*, at *Tripolis*, at *Carthage*, at the *Gades*, or *Hercules* pillers, which was the vttermost border of the knowne world in those dayes. So that one may truely say of him, *Imperium Oceano, famam qui terminat astris*, his piety and zeale reacheth as farre as the earth, his honor as high as the heauen. And yet haue I said nothing at all of the *Monasteries*, *Zenodochies*, *Nosodochies*, and other like *Hospitalls*, which out of his most pious affection to God and Gods Church he not onely erected but inriched *with large patrimonies and possessions*, which for number are as I suppose equall, for expences, greater then the former: all the particulars whereof I referre to be read in *Procopius*; who considering beside other matters, all these magnificent and sumptuous buildings, did truely say of *Iustinian*, *Nulla* [l] *honorandi dei satietas eum cepit*, he was neuer wearied, neuer satiate with honoring of God.

[t] *Pro. lib. 2.*
[x] *Lib. 4.*
[y] *Lib. 5.*
[z] *Lib. 6. pa. 453*
[l] *lib. 1. pa. 424.*

40. After the Church, will it please you to take a view of the ciuill State and Empire. No mans tongue or pen can equal or come neere his acts, and most deserued praise. The whole Empire at the begininng of his reigne was in a maner spoyled & defaced. In the East, the Persians held a great part of Asia:

in the South the Vandalls possessed Africk: in the West, the Goths vsurped Italie, and Rome it selfe: in the North, the Franks, Almanes, and other people withdrewe Germany, France, and other Northerne Countryes. *Iustinian*, finding the Empire thus torne asunder on euery side, freed it from all these enemies: and hauing most happily subdued, and gloriously triumphed ouer them all, by his victorious conquests, he purchased those manifould titles, which are so many Trophees, crests, and ensignes of his immortall honour, to be surnamed *Iustinian the Great* (l) *happy* (i), *renowned, victorious, and Triumphãt Augustus, Alamanicus, Gothicus, Francicus, Germanicus, Auticus, Alanicus, Vandalicus, Africanus*? So at once he purchased both honour to himselfe, and peace and tranquility to the Empire. Neither did he this onely by his conquests, and recouery, of those great Nations, which the Empire had lost; but further also by his prudence he so fortified them, being recouered, by building and repairing their ruinated Citties, by erecting Castles, Forts, and strongplaces of munition: by furnishing them all with the commodities of waters, of walls, of promontories, of hauens, of bridges, of bathes, of goodly buildings, and other matters seruing either for the necessity, or pleasure of habitation, that the whole Empire by his wisdome and gouernment was made as it were one great and strong Citty, both commodious and delightfull to his owne subiects, and inexpugnable to his enemies. So in Media he fortified Doras (k): in Persia, Sisauranon: in Mesopotamia, Baros: in Syria, Edessa, and Callinicum: in Commagene, Zenobia: in Armenia, Martyropolis (o): in the other Armenia, Theodosiopolis: in Tzani, Burgunocy: (r) *Totam Europam inaccessam reddidit*, he made the whole country of Europ vnconquerable: Taurcsium, where he was borne, he excedingly fortified, and beautified, and called it Iustinianea: the like he did to Vlpiana, and called it Iustinianea *secunda*: neere to it he builded Iustinopolis: he repaired all Epirus, Ætolia, Acarnania: *Vniuersam Graciam*, he fortified all Greece: the like he did in Thessalia, and Euboea, *Quam penitus inexpugnabilem*

1 *Iustiniani magni. Epist. Agath. et Synod. Rom. Act. 4. Canc. 6.*

i *in præfat. ad Institut. Iustin.*

k *in expugnabilẽ hostibus efficit. Proc. lib. 2. de edif. Iust.*

o *Idem. lib. 3.*

r *lib. 4.*

pugnabile et in victam reddidit, which he made vnexpugnable. The like he did in Thrace, in Misia, and in Scythia also: in Libya(a), in Numidia, and at the very Gades. Time would faile me to recount the one halfe of his famous buildings in this kinde, they may be read in *Procopius*, who thus concludeth, *Nulli* b *dubium est*, no mon may doubt *but that Iustinian fortified the Romane State with munitions, and strong holdes, from the East vnto the West, and to the very vtmost borders of the Empire.* Who further in admiration of these workes of *Iustinian* not onely calls(c) him *Orbis reparatorem*, the repairer of the whole world, but adds this memorable saying of him, *That there hath (d) not beene any in all ages, nor among all men, more prouident, more carefull for the publique good then Iustinian, vnto whom nothing was difficult, no not to bridle and confine the Seas, to leuell the Mountaines, and ouercome those thinges which seeme impossible.*

40. Euen *Euagrius* himselfe, whose spite and spleene was (as I coniecture by some welwiller of the Three Chapters of which there were diuers in the time of *Gregory*, when *Euagrius* writ) incensed against *Iustinian*, could not chuse but testifie this. (e) *It is reported of him that he restored anew, an hundreth and fifty Citties, which were either wholy ouerthrowne, or exceedingly decayed, and that he beautified them with such and so great ornaments, with houses both priuate and publicke, with goodly walles, with fayre and sumptuous buildinges, and Churches, vt nihil possit esse magnificentius*, that nothing can be more magnificent: So he. And yet all these Buildinges, Munitions, Castles and Forts, are not comparable to those most wholsome *Imperiall Lawes*, whereby he most wisely ordered and gouerned the whole Empire. That alone, was a worke of so great value and excellencie, that I may truely say, that all his victories, and victorious triumphs ouer the Persians, the Gothes, the Vandals, and other nations, neuer gayned so much honour vnto him, as did that his more then *Herculean* labour in composing and digesting the lawes to the vnspeakable benefit of the whole Christian world: for as by his victories

a *lib.6.*

b *lib.6.pa.456.*

c *lib.4 pa.439.*

d *Quapropter nemo contendet, per omnem ætatem fuisse quempiam ex omnibus hominibus Iustiniano magis prouidum, et accuratiorem. lib.4.pa.240.*

e *Euag.lib.4. ca.18.*

eries and buildings, he restored but the materiall Cities and walles thereof, so by this he repayred the men themselues, and their mindes, reducing them from rude and barbarous behauior to ciuility and order, setting them in such a constant forme of ciuill gouernment, as all Christian kingdomes since haue not onely with admiration extolled, but with most happy successe embraced and followed.

41. Iudge now I pray you vprightly of the Cardinalls dealing, who declaimes against this Emperor, and reuiles him in most odious tearmes, as an *vnciuill, auaricious, sacrilegious, tyrannicall person*, calling him a *dolt, a foole, a mad-man, an heretick, an Antichrist, a persecutor of the faith, negligent of the ciuill, disturber of the Ecclesiasticall state, vnder whom the Empire and Common wealth decayed and declined, the Church was oppressed, and the faith ouerthrowne*: Whereas it doth now appeare by euidences of all sorts, that he was a Prince, not onely Catholique, pious, prudent, magnanimous, iust, munificent, & most vigilant for the good both of the Church and Common wealth, but so adorned with the concurrence of all those heroicall vertues, which haue beene single in other men of great fame, as if in him we should see the complete Idea of a worthy Emperor: He being for politicall prudence, *Solon*: for valour and victorious conquests *Alexander*: for magnificence, *Augustus*: for his piety, constant loue and zeale to the faith, *Constantine*, *Theodosius*, or *Martian*: for multiplicity of labours vndertaken for the good of the whole Empire, more indefatigable then *Hercules*: and for supporting the whole fabrick of the Church and Christian faith, a very *Atlas*: *Cælum qui vertice fulcit*.

42. There onely remaineth now the other effect, which is priuate: which as it is the last, so is it the heauiest punishment that *Baronius* could wish vnto *Iustinian*, and that is, *his adiudging him to the pit and torments of Hell*. Did he not feare the Apostles reproofe, either against rash & temerarious iudgers, *Who art (e) thou that iudgest another mans seruant?* or against vncharitable censurers, *Charity thinketh not euill, (g) it reioyceth*

(e) Rom. 14. 4.
(g) 1. Cor 13. 5.

iniquitie not in iniquity, but reioyceth in the truth? Why did not the Cardinall harken rather to the iudgement of the Church of Constantinople? *wherein the memory* (h) *of* Iustinian *was yearely celebrated, and that with great pompe and solemnity in the Church of* Sophia, *in the time of diuine seruice, all the people being assembled.* The like celebrity (i) of his *memory was obserued at Ephesus in the Church of S.* Iohn, *which he hath builded.* Or if the authority of these particular Churches could not sway the Cardinall, seemed it a small matter vnto him to contemne the consenting iudgment of Pope *Agatho*, and his Romane Councell, which ranke him among the glorious and blessed Saints in heauen, with S. *Constantine*, *Theodosius*, and *Marcian?* yea of the whole sixt generall Councell, *wherein his memory is so often called holy, blessed, diuine, happy, and the like?* and if his memory, then much more himselfe is happy and blessed: for to the iust onely doth that honour belong, *The* (k) *memoriall of the iust shall be blessed, but the name of the wicked shall rot.* To which purpose that is specially to be obserued which *Nicephorus* addeth in plaine tearmes of the sixt generall Councell, *Iustinianum* (l) *beata quiete dignatur*, It placeth *Iustinian* in blessed rest and peace: and againe, *Semper eum quasi sanctissimum Iustinianum dicunt*, That general Councell euer calleth *Iustinian* one who is a Saint, and among the Saints. Adde to all these, that seeing, by the Cardinall's confession, the Epistles of *Agatho*, *In omnibus* (and therefore euen in that which he saith of this holy Emperor, *That he is a blessed Saint, venerable in all nations*) are to be imbraced as diuine Oracles: it may be truely concluded, that *Iustinian*, not onely by the testimonies of mortall men, and of all nations, but euen by the voice of God himselfe is blessed, and hath euer since his death, and doth now rest and reigne with God. When by the vnpartiall Iudgement of S. *Agatho*, of the Romane Synod, of the whole sixt generall Councell, of all Nations, yea of God himselfe, *Iustinian* is proclaimed to be a venerable Saint, now resting and reigning with God in heauen, who is *Baronius*, a man of yester-day, that after a thousand

h *In ipso Dei Verbi Sapientiæ templo quotannis magnifice memoriam eius celebrari, populi vniuersi concione ad rem diuinam coacta.* Nicep. lib. 17. ca. 31.

i Ibid.

k Pro. 10. 7.

l Loc. citat.

sand yeares possession of that heauenly rest, he should vnlaine him, dethrone him, and thrust him downe to the lowest pit and most hideous torments of hell. I'st not enough for that *Hildebrandiall* generation to deueft Kinges and Emperors of their earthly diadems, vnlesse in the pride of their hearts, climing vp into heauen, they thrust them out thence also, and depriue them of their crownes of immortality, and eternall glory?

43 And yet were there neither Historian nor Pope, nor Prouinciall, nor Generall Councell, to testifie this felicity of *Iustinian* vnto vs: that very text, out of which being mained the Cardinall sucked poyson, & collected *His* death and damnation, doth so forcibly proue the beatitude of *Iustinian*, that it alone may be sufficient in this cause. The Cardinall cites but one part of the text, but the whole doth manifest his fraud and malitious collection. Apoc. 14. 13. *Blessed are the dead which dye in the Lord, from hence forth: euen so saith the Spirit, for they rest from their labours, and Opera illorum sequuntur illos*, their workes follow them: which last wordes the Cardinall onely alleageth, and applyeth them to *Iustinian*. Now who are Those, that are ment by, *Their workes* and *follow Them*? who are those *Them*, that the Spirit meaneth in that text? Out of all doubt those selfe same of whom before he spake, *Them, that die in the Lord*, *Them*, *that are blessed, and rest from their labours*: Of *Them*, the Spirit there saith, *opera illorum*, Their workes follow *Them*. Seeing then the Card. confesseth this text to belong to *Iustinian*, and himselfe applieth it vnto him, it certainly hence followeth that *Iustinian* is of their number who dye in the Lord, & are blessed: for of *Them*, and *Them* onely, doth the holy Ghost speake in that text, saying, *They, rest from their labours*, *and* Their *workes follow* Them. So hard it is for the Cardinall to cite or say ought against *Iustinian* which doth not redound to the Emperors honour, and the Cardinals owne ignominie.

44 But let vs suppose the wordes to bee generall, as being vttered alone, without any reference to that text, they

they may bee truely affirmed both of the good and bad: There cannot bee found in all scripture more faire euidence, nor a more authentick Charter for the happy estate of any one in particular that liued since the Apostles times, then is this for *Iustinian*. For what were those *workes which did accompany and follow Iustinian*? Truely the workes of sincere faith, of feruent zeale to God, of loue to the Church and children of God, the workes of piety, of prudence, of iustice, of fortitude, of munificence, of many other Heroicall vertues: with these, as with a garment and chaine of pure gold, *Iustinian* being decked was brought vnto the bridegroome: euery decree made, or ratified by him for confirming the faith: euery *Anathema* denounced against heresies and heretickes, particularly those against *Vigilius*, and all that defend him, that is, against *Baronius*, and all who defend the Popes infallibility in defining causes of faith: euery Temple or Church, euery Monastery and Hospitall, euery City and Towne, euery Bridge, Hauen and High-way, euery Castle, Fort, and Munition, whether made or repaired by him, tending either immediately to the aduancement of Gods seruice, or to the maintaining or releeuing of Gods seruants, or strengthening the Empire against his and Gods enemies: euery booke in the Digest, Code, and Authenticks, euery Title, yea euery law in any title, whereby either the Christian faith and religion, or peaceable order and tranquility, haue beene either planted, or propagated or continued, either in the Church or Common wealth: all these and euery one of them, and many other the like which I cannot either remember or recount, are like so many Rubies, Chrysolites, & Diamonds, in the costly garment, or so many sinkes in that golden chaine, of his faith and vertues. Seeing they *who offer but one mite into the treasurie of the Lord*, or giue *but one cup of cold water to a Prophet, shall not want a reward*, O! what a weight of eternity and glory shall that troope of vertues and traine of good workes obtaine at his handes, who *rewardeth indeed euery man according to their workes*, but withall

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rewardeth them infinitely aboue all the dignity or condignity of their workes.

45 If *Iustinian* and those who are beautified with so many vertues and glorious workes, be as the Cardinall iudgeth tormented in hell, belike the Cardinall himselfe hoped by workes contrary vnto these, by workes of infidelity, of impiety, of maligning the Church, of reuiling the seruants of God, of oppugning the faith, of Patronizing heresie, yea that Fundamentall heresie which ouerthroweth the whole Catholike faith, and brings in a totall Apostasie from the faith, by these he hoped to purchase and in condignitie to merit the felicity of the Kingdome of heauen. This beeing the track and beaten path wherein they walke, and by which they aspire to immortality, what *Constantine* [m] said once to *Acesius* the Nouatian, the same may be sayd to *Baronius* and his consorts, *Erigito tibi scalam Baroni et ad cœlum solus ascendito*, Keepe that Ladder vnto your selues, and by it do you alone climbe vp into heauen. But well were it with them, and thrice happy had the Cardinall beene, if with a faithfull and vpright heart towards God hee could haue said of *Iustinian* the wordes of *Balaam*, *Let mee dye the death of the righteous, and let my last end bee like his.* His life beeing led in piety, and abounding in good workes, he now inioyeth the fruite thereof, felicity and eternall rest in *Abrahams* bosom: As for the Cardinall who hath so malignantly reuiled him, himselfe can now best tell whether he doth not crye and pray, *Father Abraham haue mercy on me, and send* Iustinian *that he may dip the tip of his finger in water and coole my tongue*; or sing that other note(n) vnto his fellowes concerning this Emperor, *We fooles thought his life to be madnes and his end to be without honor, but now is he numbred among the children of God, and his lot is among the Saintes. Therefore we haue erred from the way of truth, and wearied our selues in the wayes of wickednes and destruction, we haue gone through deserts where there lay no way, but as for the way of the Lord we haue not knowne it.*

[m] *Socr lib. 1. ca. 7.*

[n] *Wisd. 5. 4. 6.*

FINIS.